SELECTLIVES

12. SEASON (TRANSPORT

## PLUTARCH:

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PERPCLES, / |C I M O. N, PELOPIDAS. LYSANDER,

NICIAS, ARISTIDES, AGESILAUS, PHILOPŒMEN, ALEXANDER the GREAT.

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## PERICLES.

Esar once observing some strangers of distinction at Rome carrying young dogs and monkeys in their arms, and caressing them, asked, Whether the women in their country ever bore any children? by this sarcastical question reproving with a just severity and distain those who lavish upon brutes that natural tenderness and affection which is due only to mankind. In the same manner, we must condemn those who employ that curiosity and love of knowledge which nature has implanted in our minds, upon low and worthless objects, while they neglect such as are excellent and useful.

Our senses being passive in receiving impressions from without, must be affected by all objects indifferently which happen to strike upon them, whether pleasant or offensive. But the mind has a power of choice, and can turn its attention to whatever objects it pleases. It ought therefore to employ itself in the best pursuits, not merely for the sake of contemplating what is good, but that it may be nourished and enriched by the contemplation. For as those gay and vivid colours, which strengthen and cheer the sight, are most grateful to the eye; so those objects of contemplation are to be chosen, which while they delight, at the same time direct the mind to the proper happiness of its nature. Such are the works of

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virtue. The mere description of these inspires the mind with a strong emulation and earnest defire to imitate them; whereas, in other things, our admiration is not always attended with a defire of imitating what we admire; nay, on the contrary, while we efferm the work, we often despise the workman. Thus we are pleafed with perfumes and purple; but we look upon dyers and perfumers as men of a low and illiberal occupation. Therefore Antisthenes, when he was told that Ismenias was an excellent performer on the flute, well replied, True; but he is a worthless man; otherwise he would not have been so good a musician: and Philip faid to his fon Alexander, when once at a feast he had fung in a very agreeable and skilful manner, Are you not ashamed to sing for well? it being sufficient for a king to find leisure to hear others fing; and he does the muses no small honour, when he is present at the performances of those who excel in arts of this kind.

Every man who applies himself to mean and useless arts, is self-condemned, and must be convicted of a flothful indisposition to nobler occupations, by that very industry which he employs in such unprofitable pursuits. And there is no youth of a liberal and ingenuous nature, who when he fees the statue of Jupiter at Pifa, or that of Juno at Argos, would defire to be Phidias or Polycletus; or who would wish to be Anacreon, Philemon, or Archilochus, because he has been delighted with their poems: for it is not necessary that we should love and esteem the artift, because we are pleased with the gracefulness and beauty of his work. Since therefore by objects of this kind no emulation is raifed, nor any warm emotions urging to action and imitation, we may conclude that they are useless to the beholders. But such is the effect of virtuous actions, that we not only admire them, but long to copy the example. The goods of fortune we wish to enjoy, virtue we defire to practife; the former we are content to receive from

from others, the effects of the latter we are ambitious that others should receive from us. For it is the nature of virtue to draw us powerfully to itself, to kindle in us an active principle to form our manners and engage our affections, and this even in an historical description, and not only when it is repre-

fented before our eyes.

For this reason I have determined to proceed in writing the lives of eminent men; and have composed this tenth book, containing the life of Pericles, and of Fabius Maximus who carried on the war against Hannibal; men who resembled each other in many virtues, but especially in the mildness and integrity of their dispositions; and who by bearing patiently the insolence and folly both of the common people and of their colleagues in the government, were eminently serviceable to their country. With what success I execute my design, must be left to the judgment of the reader.

Pericles was of the tribe of Acamantis, and of the ward of Cholargia. His family was one of the most considerable in Athens both on the father's and mother's side. His father Xanthippus, who deseated the king of Persia's generals at Mycale, married Agariste the niece of Clisthenes, who expelled the race of risistratus, abolished the tyranny, and settled such laws, and such a plan of government, as were excellently adapted for the security of the state, and for promoting concord and unanimity among the people.

Agariste dreamed that she was brought to-bed of a lion, and in a few days after was delivered of Pericles. His body was well formed, but his head was very long and disproportioned. For this reason almost all the statues of him have the head covered with a helmet; the statuaries, probably, not being willing to expese his deformity. But the poets of Athens gave him the name of Schinocephalus, as having his head shaped like a squill or sea-onion, which in their dialect they sometimes call Schinos. Cratinus the co-

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mic poet in his play called Chirones has this passage:

Old Time and Faction gave the tyrant birth, Whom mortal men call Pericles on earth; Not thus distinguish'd in the courts of Jove, For Head-compeller is his name above.

And in his play called Nemesis, [The revenge], he thus addresses him:

Come hofpitable bleffed fove.

Teleclides ridicules him in these lines:

Perplex'd by business, by its weight deprest,
Now his huge head hangs silent on his breast.
Now from that head, in which ten men might dine,
Loud thunders burst, of dreadful storms the sign.

Eupolis, in his play called *Demi*, introduces an inquiry concerning all the demagogues or orators whom he represents as coming up from hell; and when Pericles appears last, he makes one of his characters cry out,

Of all that dwell below here comes the head.

Most writers say that he was instructed in music by Damon, (whose name, they tell us, should be pronounced with the first syllable short); but Aristotle fays that he studied music under Pythoclides. And it is probable, that Damon, who was an able politician, only assumed the character of a musician, that he might conceal his political talents from the people. He continually attended on Pericles, and was as affiduous in teaching him the science of government, as a mafter of the gymnaftic art is in training and exercifing his scholars. His disguise however proved ineffectual; for he was banished by the oftracism as a man of a factious turbulent spirit, and an enemy to the liberties of the people. Nor was he spared by the comic poets. Plato introduces a person speaking to him thus: Firft, First, answer, Chiron; for, if fame says true, This tyrant Pericles was taught by you.

Pericles was likewise a disciple of Zeno Eleates, who in natural philosophy was a follower of Parmenides, and who practised a subtile method of disputation, by which he never failed to resute and consound his adversary. This account Timon the Philasian gives of him in these verses.

Great Zeno's force, which, never known to fait, . Could on each fide, if try'd on each, prevail.

But the person who was most conversant with Pericles, and from whom chiefly he acquired that dignity which appeared in his whole address and deportment, and that strength and sublimity of sentiment which gave him such an ascendant over the minds of the people, was Anaxagoras the Clazomenian, whom his contemporaries called Nous, or Intelligence, either from admiration of his skill in philosophy and his deep insight into nature, or because he was the first that ascribed the order of the universe, not to chance or necessity, but to the operation and energy of a pure unmixed intelligence, distinguishing and separating the constitutent principles of the various parts of nature, which before were mingled in one confused mass.

This philosopher Pericles held in the highest effeem; and being fully instructed by him in the sublimest sciences, acquired not only an elevation of mind, and lostiness of style, free from all the affectation and bustoonery of the vulgar; but likewise an easy composed gait, a gravity of countenance seldom relaxed by laughter, a firm and even tone of voice, together with such a modesty and decency in his dress, that when he spoke in public even with the greatest vehemence, it was never put into disorder. These things and others of the like nature raised admiration in all who saw him.

Being once reviled and insulted in public for a whole day together by an impudent profligate fellow, he made no reply, but continued to dispatch some important business in which he was then employed. In the evening he retired, and went home with great composure, the other still following him, and loading him with the most abusive language. When he arrived at his house, it being then dark, he ordered one of his fervants to take a light, and wait on the man home. The poet Ion, indeed, fays that Pericles was haughty and infolent in his behaviour, and that the fense he had of his own dignity, produced in him an arrogant contempt of others; and he highly extols the civility, complaifance, and politeness of Cimon. But little regard is due to the judgment of. a man who thinks that foftness of manners, and the minute refinements of delicacy, are necessary to temper the majefty of virtue, just as the humour of fatirical scenes is to be blended with the solemnity of tragedy. When Zeno heard the gravity of Pericles represented as mere pride and offentation, he advised those who censured it to assume the same fort of pridethemselves; being of opinion, that by counterfeiting what is excellent, a man may be infenfibly led to love and practife it in reality.

But these were not the only advantages which Pericles reaped from the conversation of Anaxagoras. From him he learned to banish those supersitious tears which distress the minds of the vulgar, who are terrified when any extraordinary appearances are seen in the heavens, because they are unacquainted with the causes of them; and who, from their ignorance of religion and the nature of the gods, are upon such occasions tormented with the most extravagant and dismal apprehensions. For philosophy cures these disorders of the mind, and instead of the terrors and frenzy of superstition, produces a rational and

cheerful piety.

It is faid that the head of a ram with only one horn

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horn was once brought to Pericles from his countryfeat. Lampo the diviner observing that the horn grew ftrong and firm out of the middle of the forehead, foretold, that as there were then two parties in the city, that of Thucydides and that of Pericles, the whole power would shortly centre in him on whose land the prodigy had happened. But Anaxagoras having opened the head, showed that the brain did not fill up the whole cavity, but that it had contracted itself into an' oval form, and pointed directly to that part of the scull whence the horn took its rife. This folution procured Anaxagoras great honour from the spectators; but some time after, Lampowas no less honoured for his prediction, when the power of Thucydides was ruined, and the whole administration of the republic came into the hands of Pericles. But I fee no reason why the philosopher and the foothfayer may not both be allowed to have: been in the right; the one having discovered the cause,. and the other the defign of this phænomenon. it was the business of the one to find in what manner and by what means this effect was produced; and the business of the other was to show what end it was defigned to answer, and what events it portended. And those who maintain that no prodigy, when the cause of it is known, ought to be regarded as a: prognostic, do not consider that if they reject such figns as are extraordinary and preternatural, they must also deny that common and artificial signs are: of any use; for the clattering of brass plates, the light of beacons, the shadow upon a fun-dial, have all of them their proper natural causes, yet each has a peculiar fignification besides. But perhaps this point might be more properly discussed elsewhere.

Pericles when young stood in great fear of the people, because in his countenance he was thought to resemble Pisistratus; and the old men were not a little alarmed when they discovered in him, the same sweetness of voice, and the same volubility of speech,

which they remembered in the tyrant. And as he was besides of a noble and wealthy family, and had the friendship of the most considerable men in the state, he was afraid of being banished by the offracism; he therefore abstained from all political businels, but not from war, in which he showed great courage and intrepidity. But when Aristides was dead, Themistocles in exile, and Cimon for the most part employed in military expeditions at a distance from Greece, Pericles assumed a public character. He chose rather to folicit the favour of the multitude and the poor, than of the rich and the few; putting a constraint upon his natural temper, which by no means inclined him to court popularity. But being apprehensive that he might fall under the suspicion of aiming at the supreme power, and observing that Cimon was attached to the party of the nobles, and was highly esteemed by men of the greatest eminence, he studied to ingratiate himself with the common people, as the most effectual means for his own fecurity, and for strengthening his interest against Cimon. From this time he entirely changed his ordinary. course of life; he was never seen in any street but that which led from the fenate-house to the Forum ; he declined all the invitations of his friends, and all focial entertainments and recreations; fo that, during the whole time of his administration, which was of long continuance, he never supped with any. of his friends, except once at the marriage of his nephew Euryptolemus; and then he retired as foon as the libations were performed. For dignity is not eafily preserved in the familiarity of conversation, nor a folemnity of character maintained amidst furrounding gaiety and cheerfulness. Real virtue indeed, the more it is feen, is the more admired; and a truly good man can by no action appear fo great in the eyes of strangers, as he appears in private life to those who daily converse with him. But Pericles chose not to cloy the people by being too lavish of his presence;

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he therefore appeared only by intervals; he did not speak upon every subject that occurred, nor constantly attend the public assemblies, but reserved himself, (as Critolaus says), like the Salaminian galley, for extraordinary occasions. Common business he transacted by means of his friends, and certain orators with whom he had an intimacy. Among these, they say, was Ephialtes, who destroyed the power of the Areopagites, and so intoxicated the people, according to Plato's expression, with this full draught of liberty, that from their impatience of restraint, and mad desire of conquest, they were compared by the comic writers to an unruly pampered steed,

Who champs the bit, and bounds along the plain.

Pericles made use of the doctrines of Anaxagoras, as an instrument to raise his style to a sublimity suitable to the greatness of his spirit and the dignity of his manner of life, rendering his eloquence more splendid and majestic by the rich tincture which it re-For it was from the ftudy ceived from philosophy. of philosophy as well as from nature, that he acquired that elevation of thought, and that all-commanding power (as the divine Plato calls it) by which he was distinguished; and it was by applying his philofophy to the purposes of eloquence, that he gained fo great a superiority over all the orators of his time. Upon this account, it is faid, he obtained the furname of Olympius; but some are of opinion that it was on account of the public buildings and ornaments with which he embellished the city; and others fay, that he was so called from the great authority he had in the republic, in affairs both of peace and war. It is not improbable, indeed, that all these circumstances might concur in procuring him this splendid title. It appears, however, from the comedies of that age, in which there are many strokes of satire both serious and ludicrous upon Pericles, that the appellation was given him chiefly on account of his eloquence; for

in them he is represented as thundering and lightening in his harangues, and as carrying a dreadful
thunderbolt in his tongue. Thucycides the son of
Milesias is said to have given a very pleasant description of the force of Pericles's eloquence. Being asked
by Archidamus king of the Lacedæmonians, whether
he or Pericles was the best wrestler; he answered,
When I have thrown him, he still gets the better of me;
for he denies that he has had a fall, and persuades the

Spectators to believe him.

Such was the folicitude of Pericles about his public orations, that before he addressed the people, he always offered up a prayer to the gods, that nothing might unawares escape him, unsuitable to the subject on which he was to speak. He left nothing behind him in writing except public decrees; and only a few of his fayings are recorded; some of which are these. He faid, that the island of Egina should not be suffered to remain as the eye-fore of the Piraus. On another occasion he faid, that he already beheld war advancing with hafty Arides from Peloponnesus. Once as he was failing from Athens upon some military expedition, Sophocles, who accompanied him, and was joined in the command with him, happened to praise the beauty of a certain boy; Pericles replied, It becomes a general, Sophocles, to have not only pure hands, but pure eyes. Stefimbrotus has preferved the following passage from the oration which Pericles pronounced in honour of those who fell in battle at Samos. Thefe, faid he, like all others who die for their country, are exalted to a participation of the divine nature, being, like the gods, feen only in the honours that are paid them, and in the bleffings which they bestow.

Thucydides represents the administration of Pericles as favouring aristocracy; and, according to him, though the government was called democratical, yet it was really in the hands of one man who had acquired the supreme authority. But many other writers censure him for his too great indulgence to the

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people; he being the first who corrupted them by dividing among them the conquered lands, and by distributing money to them for the public spectacles; the effect of which was, that from being sober and industrious they became dissolute and prodigal. Let us now inquire by what alteration of circumstances in the republic this difference in his conduct was occasioned.

We have already observed, that at first, in order to oppose the authority of Cimon, he endeavoured to ingratiate himself with the people. But finding that he was furpassed in popularity by his rival, whose wealth enabled him to relieve the poor, to entertain the indigent citizens daily at his house, to clothe fuch as were past their labour, and to throw open his inclosures that all might be at liberty to gather his fruit; he had recourse to the expedient of distributing the public treasure; which scheme, as Aristotle relates, was proposed to him by Demonides of Ios. Accordingly, by giving money among the people for the public spectacles, by increasing the fees for their attendance in courts of judicature, and by other donations, he foon established his interest with them. The power which he thus obtained he employed against the senate of Areopagus, of which he was not a member, having never had the fortune to be chosen Archon, The smotheta, the King of the facred rites, or Polemarch: for these offices were anciently disposed of by lot; and only those who had been elected into them, and had discharged them well, were admitted among the Areopagites. Pericles by these methods got so strong a party on his side, that he was enabled to overpower this fenate; and by the affiftance of Ephialtes he deprived them of the cognifance of most of the causes which before came under their jurisdiction. He also procured Cimon to be banished by the offracism, as a favourer of the Lacedæmonians, and an enemy to the people; although he was inferior to none in wealth or family, had

had obtained many fignal victories over the Barbarians, and, by the treasure and spoils which he took from them, had greatly enriched the city; as we have related in his life. Such was the authority of

Pericles with the common people.

The term of Cimon's banishment, as it was by estracism, was limited by law to ten years. During this interval, the Lacedæmonians made an incursion with a confiderable army into the territory of Tanagra. As foon as the Athenians marched to oppose them, Cimon came and joined the army, taking his rank among those of his own tribe; for he hoped, that, by fharing the danger of his countrymen, his actions would clear him from the aspersion of being a friend to the Lacedæmonians. But the friends of Percles joining together obliged him to retire, as being an exile. This feems to have been the cause that Pericles exerted fuch uncommon bravery in this engagement, and fignalized himself for his intrepidity beyond all others. The friends of Cimon, who had been accused with him by Pericles of favouring the Lacedæmonians, all fell in this battle without exception. The Athenians now repented of their behaviour to Cimon, and regretted his absence, having been defeated upon the borders of Attica, and expecting a more formidable attack the next fpring. Pericles, as foon as he perceived the disposition of the people, without hesitation complied with their defire, and proposed a decree himself for recalling Cimon; who upon his return immmediately concluded a peace between the two states. For the Lacedæmonians loved Cimon as much as they hated Pericles and the rest of the orators. Some authors, however, fay that before Pericles proposed the decree for recalling Cimon, he made a private compact with him, by the mediation of Elpinice, Cimon's fifter; the terms of which were, that Cimon should fail with a fleet of two hundred ships, and have the command of the forces abroad, with which he was

prudence

to ravage the territories of the king of Persia; and that Pericles should govern at home. Elpinice is faid to have been instrumental in rendering Pericles more favourable to Cimon in a former instance, when he was under a capital profecution, and Pericles was appointed by the people to be one of his accufers. When Elpinice came to him to make her request in behalf of her brother, he replied with a smile, You are too old, Elpinice, you are too old to manage fuch affairs as thefe. At the trial, however, he executed his office of accuser in a slight manner, rose up to speak but once, and of all the accusers showed the least severity against Cimon. What credit then can be given to Idomeneus, who charges Pericles with having treacherously murdered the orator Ephialtes, out of jealoufy and envy of his reputation, though he was his intimate friend, and the partner of his counsels in political affairs? This calumny, wheref ever he found it, has he vented with great bittern is against a man, who, though perhaps he was not in all respects unblameable, yet certainly had such a greatness of mind and high sense of honour as was incompatible with an action fo favage and inhuman. The truth is, as we are informed by Aristotle, that Ephialtes being grown formidable to the nobles and their party, and being severe and inexorable in profecuting all who had wronged and oppressed the common people, his enemies formed a defign against his life, and employed Aristodicus of Tanagra to assassinate him privately. As for Cimon, he died in the expedition to Cyprus,

The nobles observing how greatly the authority of Pericles was increased, and that he was now the chief man in the state, were desirous that he should have some opponent to his administration, who might give a check to his power, and prevent the government from becoming entirely monarchical. The person fixed upon by them for this purpose, was Thucydides of the ward of Alopece, a man of great

prudence and moderation, and brother-in-law to Cimon. He was, indeed, inferior to Cimon in military excellence, but he furpassed him in his forensic and political talents; and by constantly attending in the city, and opposing Pericles in the public assemblies, he foon reduced the government to an equilibrium: for he no longer suffered those of superior rank to mingle with the commonalty, as they used to do before, by which they in great measure lost their distinction; but by separating them from the populace, and by uniting the power of them all into one fum, he produced a force fufficient to counterbalance the power of the opposite faction. was, indeed, from the beginning a kind of doubtful feparation, like a flaw in a piece of iron, which feemed to denote that the popular party and the ariflocratical were not perfectly one, though they were not perfectly divided. But by the contention and ambition of Pericles and Thucydides, the city was quite broken in two, and one of the parts was called the People, the other the Nobility. Pericles after this, more than ever, gave the reins to the people, and employed his whole power in gratifying them, contriving perpetually to entertain them with fome folendid public spectacle, festival, or procession; and while he indulged them with these elegant amusements, he managed them at his pleasure; beside this, he fent out every year fixty galleys, which were manned by a confiderable number of the citizens; they were employed in this service for eight months, and while they received their pay, at the fame time improved themselves in the art of navigation. He also sent a colony of a thousand inhabitants to Chersonesus, five hundred to Naxus, half that number to Andros, a thousand among the Bifaliæ in Thrace, and a thousand into Italy when the city of Sybaris (which they called Thurii) was built. His defign in this was to rid the city of a multitude of idle people, who merely from their idleness became

came turbulent and feditious, to alleviate the neceffities of the commonalty, and to prevent the defection of their allies, these new inhabitants being a kind of garrison which kept them in awe, and secu-

red their fidelity.

But that which was the chief delight and ornament of Athens, and the wonder of strangers, was the magnificence of the temples and public buildings that he erected, which are of themselves a sufficient proof that those accounts are not fabulous which are given of the wealth and power of ancient Greece. Yet no part of the public conduct of Pericles was cenfured by his enemies with more vehemence and malignity than this. They continually exclaimed in the public affemblies, That he had brought a difgrace and reproach upon the people of Athens, by removing from Delos the public treasure of Greece, and taking it into his own custody; that he had cut off the only plausible pretence for fuch an action, which was, that the treasure being before in danger from the Barbarians, it was neceffary to lodge it in some place of safety; that all the flates of Greece must think themselves shamefully wronged and infulted, when they faw the money which they had contributed towards the necessary expenses of the war, employed by the Athenians only in decorating their city like a vain fantastic woman, and adorning it with statues, and temples which cost a thousand talents. Pericles, on the other hand, represented to the people, that while they kept the Barbarians at a distance, and defended their allies, they were not accountable to them for the sums which they had received, fince the allies had not furnished either horfes, Ships, or men, but only money, which is no longer the property of the giver, but of the receiver, prowided he performs the conditions on which it was paid; that the city being well supplied with every thing necessary for supporting the war, the superfluity of their treasure should be spent on such works, as, when finished, would be an eternal monument of their glory, and during the execution of them would diffuse riches and plenty among B 2 the:

the people; for so many kinds of labour, and such a variety of instruments and materials being requisite in these undertakings, every art would be exerted, and every. band employed, every citizen would be in the pay of the state, and the city would be not only beautified, but maintained by itself. For as those who were of proper age and firength to bear arms, were paid by the public as foldiers, he was unwilling that those who followed more fervile occupations, and were not inlifted in the army, should be excluded from their share of profit, or receive it while they remained idle and inactive. He therefore employed the common people in great and magnificent works, to accomplish which, a great variety of artificers, and a confiderable length of time was necessary; and thus all who remained at home, had an equal claim to be benefited by the public money, with those who were in fervice abroad, either at fea, in garrison, or in the army. For the different materials, such as stone, brass, ivory, gold, ebony, and cypress, furnished employment to carpenters, masons, brasiers, goldfmiths, turners, and other artificers, who manufactured them; the conveyance of them by sea employ. ed merchants and failors, and by land wheelwrights, ropemakers, carriers, and other labourers; and eve. ry art occupied a number of the lower people ranged in a due subordination, who, like foldiers under the command of a general, executed the service that was affigned them; fo that, by the exercise of these different arts, plenty was diffused among persons of every rank and condition. Notwithstanding the aftonishing magnitude of these structures, and the inimitable beauty and perfection of the workmanship, every artificer being ambitious, that the elegance of the execution might furpals even the magnificence of the defign; yet the speed with which they were accomplished was still more wonderful. For all those works, each of which seemed to require the labour of successive generations, were finished not

in one age only, but during the prime of one administration. It is faid, that Zeuxis, when he heard Agatharchus boast that he finished his pictures in a fhort time, replied, Mine cost me a great deal of time. For fuch works as are hastily performed, have rarely a permanent strength or consummate beauty. But labour is a kind of loan to time, which is repaid by the durableness of that which it produces. For this reason, the structures which Pericles raised are the more admirable, that being completed in fo short a time, they yet had fuch a lasting beauty; for as they had, when they were new, the venerable afpect of antiquity, fo, now they are old, they have the freshness of a modern work. They seem to be preserved from the injuries of time by a kind of vital principle, which produces a vigour that cannot be impaired, and a bloom that will never fade.

Pericles committed the direction and superintendance of these public edifices to Phidias: though many other considerable architects were likewise employed in erecting them. The Parthenon, or temple of Minerva, was built by Callicrates and Ictinus. Corcebus began the temple of initiation at Eleusis, but died as soon as he had finished the lower rank of columns with their architraves. Metagenes of Xypete added the rest of the entablature and the upper row of columns, and Xenocles of Cholargus built the dome on the top. The long wall, the building of which Socrates says he heard Pericles recommend to the people, was undertaken by Callicrates. Cratinus ridicules this work as proceeding very slowly, in these lines.

in these lines:

To build the walt with words he often tries; If hands must raise it, it will never rise.

The Odeum or music-theatre, which was likewise built by the direction of Pericles, had within it a great number of seats and rows of pillars; the roof was of a conical figure, in imitation, as it is B 3 faid, of the king of Persia's pavilion. Cratinus takes occasion from this likewise to ridicule him in his play called Thrattæ.

Here comes our Jove, escap'd an exile's doom; And on his head behold the music-room!

Pericles at this time was very eager to pass a decree for appointing a prize-contention in music during the festival of the Panathenæa; and as he was nominated for judge and distributer of the prizes, he gave direction in what manner the contending artifts should exhibit their performances, whether they fung or played on the flute or on the lyre. From that time the prizes in music were always contended for in the Odeum. The porch of the citadel was built in five years by Mneficles, the architect. An extraordinary accident which happened during the progress of this building, manifestly showed that the goddess did not disapprove of the work, but affisted to advance and complete it. For the most active and dexterous of the workmen, by falling from a great height, was bruised in such a manner that his life was despaired of by the physicians. Pericles being extremely concerned at this misfortune, the goddess appeared to him in a dream, and prescribed a remedy, by the application of which the man foon recovered. In memory of this event he placed in the citadel near the altar, (which is faid to have been built before), a brazen statue of Minerva the goddess of bealth. The golden statue of Minerva was the work of Phidias, whose name is inscribed on the pedestal. He, as we have said before, had, through the friendship of Pericles, the care of almost all these public works, and superintended the workmen. This not only exposed him to envy, but occasioned scandalous reports concerning Pericles; who was accused of visiting, at the house of Phidias, many women of reputable families, who came thither under pretence of feeing the statues. The comic poets: did.

did not fail to improve this flander, and to represent him as a man infamous for his debaucheries. They accused him of a criminal familiarity with the wife of Menippus, who was his friend and lieutenant in the army. And because Pyrilampes, who was likewife his intimate friend, kept a great number of peacocks and other curious birds, it was supposed that he did this only for the fake of making prefents of them to those women who had granted favours to Pericles. But can we wonder that men whose profession is that of ridicule and buffoonery, should sacrifice the characters of the great and good to the envy of the multitude, as if they were making an oblation to some malevolent dæmon; when even Stefimbrotus the Thafian has dared to charge Pericles with fo strange and incredible a wickedness as an incestuous commerce with the wife of his own fon? Thus difficult is it to discover truth by history; fince those writers who live after the events which they relate, must, on account of the distance of time, be imperfectly acquainted with them; and those who are witnesses of them, are strongly tempted by envy and hatred, or by interest and friendship, to vitiate and pervert the truth.

As the orators of Thucydides's party continually exclaimed against Pericles, for having squandered the public revenues, he one day asked the people in sull assembly, whether they thought his expenses had been too great? They replied, Much too great. Then, said he, the expense shall not be yours, but mine; and I will have my name inscribed on all these buildings. The people, upon this, either admiring the greatness of his spirit, or envying him the glory of such magnificent works, cried out, that he might spend as much as

be pleased without sparing the public treasure.

Thucydides and Pericles at last came to such an open rupture, that it became necessary for the one or the other to be banished by the ostracism. Pericles gained the victory, banished Thucydides, and entirely.

entirely defeated his party. This contest being at an end, and the people no longer divided into two factions, Pericles became file master of Athens; and all the affairs of the Athenians were at his disposal; their revenues, their armies, their sleets, the islands, the sea, and the power which accrued to them from other states, whether Greek or Barbarian, from those nations which were in subjection to them, or from those which were in friendship and alliance with them.

From this time he became a different person. was no longer fo obsequious to the people, nor for ready to comply with all their wild and capricious. defires. The government was no longer administered by courting popular favour and indulging the paffions of the multitude, but was changed into an ariflocratical, or rather a monarchical form : thus he confined by stricter measures the former loose and luxuriant harmony of the state; and by an unblameable conduct and a fleady pursuit of the public good, he obtained an absolute authority over the people, whom for the most part he influenced by argument and perfuation, though fometimes he directly thwarted their inclinations, and obliged them by force to purfue fuch measures as were most conducive to their welfare. His conduct towards the people was like that of a physician in the cure of a long and irregular distemper, who sometimes indulges his patient in the moderate use of such things as are pleasant, and at other times prescribes such sharp and violent medicines as are most efficacious and salutary. He alone had the art of controlling those various passions and diforders which must necessarily spring up in a people whose dominion was so extensive. Hope and fear were the two engines by which he governed and directed the multitude; by these he checked them when they were too eager and impetuous, and animated them when timorous and desponding. From this example it appears that rhetoric is in reality what Plato calls it, The art of ruling the minds of men; and

that the principal object of it is to manage the affections and passions, which are to the soul what the strings are to a musical instrument, and which will always obey the will of the artist, when touched with delicacy and skill. The influence which Pericles acquired, was not, however, to be ascribed merely to his eloquence, but likewise, as Thucydides says, to his unblemished integrity and his contempt of riches, which procured him universal esteem and veneration. For though he had rendered that great city still more great and opulent, though his power exceeded that of many kings and tyrants, some of whom have bequeathed to their children the sovereignty which they had obtained; yet he never made the least addition to his paternal estate.

Thucydides gives a full and just account of the power and authority of Pericles; but the comic poets speak on this subject with their usual malignity, calling his friends and adherents, the new Pisstratide, representing his authority as excessive and insupportable, and disproportioned to a popular state, and requiring of him to disclaim by oath all intentions of assuming a tyrannical power. Telectides says that

the Athenians gave into his hands

Each town's whole tribute, and each town besides, Which bound or free, as he ordains, abides; The bulwark, which he bids to rise or fall; The strength, the treasure, happiness and all.

Nor was this power of his a mere transitory thing, which like a blossom flourished only during the spring of his administration; he for forty years together held the pre-eminence, and that among such men as Ephialtes, Leocrates, Myronides, Cimon, Tolmidas, Thucydides; and after the ruin and banishment of Thucydides, continued it still for no less than fifteen years. And though his authority was unlimited, and the power of the several annual magistrates united in him, yet he kept

kept himself always untainted by avarice. Not that he was careless of his fortune; for he was equally folicitous that his paternal estate should not be diminished by negligence, and that the care of it should not ingross too much of his time and attention. His method of managing it was therefore such as appeared to him most easy and most exact. The yearly produce of his lands he fold all at once, and from day to day bought in the market the necessaries for his family. But his fons, when they grew up, and the women who lived with him, were not at all pleafed with this parfimonious economy; they complained of their feanty allowance, and this minute calculation of the daily expenses. For there was none of that waste and superfluity which is common in great houses and wealthy families; the income and the expense being accurately adjusted to each other. The person who affisted him to manage his affairs with this exactness and regularity, was Evangelus one of his fervants, a man who, either by his natural qualifications or by the instructions of Pericles, was peculiarly fitted for fuch an employment. This conduct indeed was very unlike that of Anaxagoras, who, through a philosophical enthusiasm and contempt of wealth, quitted his house, and left his lands uncultivated. But I think there is a wide difference between the life of a speculative and of an active philosopher. The former is employed in contemplations purely intellectual, and independent on every thing material and external; the latter applies his virtue to the fervice of fociety, and the business of human life; to him, therefore, riches may not only be necessary, but they may be ranked even among those things which we call honourable and good. Thus it was with Pericles, who was enabled by his riches to relieve many of the poor citizens. And yet it is faid, that, in the multiplicity of public bufiness, he had forgotten and neglected even Anaxagoras himself, who, finding that he was thus deferted

ed in his old age, covered up his head, and lay down with an intention to starve himself to death. Pericles hearing this, ran immediately to him with great emotion, and earnestly entreated him to change his resolution, not so much for his own sake, as that he himself might not be deprived of so faithful and able a counsellor. Anaxagoras uncovering his face, replied, Ah Pericles! those who have need of a lamp

take care to supply it with oil.

When the Lacedæmonians began to discover a jealoufy of the growing power of the Athenians, Pericles, that he might yet more elevate the spirit of the people, and give them a still higher opinion of their own power and dignity, proposed a decree, that a council should be held at Athens, confisting of deputies from every Grecian city, great and small, whether in Europe or in Asia, to debate concerning the temples which had been burnt by the Barbarians, concerning the facrifices which they had vowed to the gods when they fought for the fafety of Greece, and likewise concerning the measures that were to be taken with regard to their naval affairs, that navigation might be every where fecure, and peace maintained amongst them all. Twenty men of above fifty years of age were fent with this proposal to the different states of Greece. Five of them went to the Ionians and Dorians who lived in Afia, and to the inhabitants of the islands as far as Lesbos and Rhodes: five to those who lived about the Hellespont and in Thrace as far as Byzantium; five to the inhabitants of Boeotia, Phocis, and Peloponnesus, and thence through Locris to the adjoining continent as far as Acarnania and Ambracia. The rest went to the Eubœans, Oetæans, Malienfes, Phthiotæ, Achæans, and Thessalians, inviting them to join in the confultation, and to unite their endeavours to promote the general peace and welfare of Greece. Their folicitations were, however, ineffectual, and there was no council held; the reason of which is said to be the opposition

opposition of the Lacedæmonians, for it was in Peloponnesus that the proposal was first rejected. I have just mentioned this sact as a proof of his high spirit, and his disposition to form great and magnifi-

cent projects.

As a military commander, his chief excellence was prudence and caution; he never willingly came to an engagement, when the danger was confiderable and the fuccess very uncertain; nor did he envy the glory or imitate the conduct of those generals, who are admired and applauded because their rash enterprifes have been attended with success. He often faid to the citizens, That, as far as it depended upon him, they should be all immortal. When Tolmidas, the fon of Tolmæus, elated with his former successes, and the reputation he had acquired in war, was preparing very unfeafonably to make an incursion into Bœotia, and besides his other forces had collected a thousand of the best and bravest of the youth whom he had perfuaded to inlift as volunteers, Pericles used his utmost endeavours to divert him from the attempt, and faid to him in the public affembly those wellknown words, If you do not regard the advice of Pericles, at least wait till time shall advise you, who is the best of all counsellors. This saying was not highly applauded then; but a few days after, when news was brought that the Athenians were defeated at Coronea, and that Tolmidas was killed together with many of the bravest citizens, it procured Pericles great respect and love from the people, who considered it as a proof not only of his fagacity, but also of his affection to his countrymen.

Of his military expeditions, that to the Cherfonesus was most applauded, because it contributed so much to the safety of the Greeks who lived there. For he not only strengthened their cities by a colony of a thousand Athenians; but by raising sortifications across the isthmus from sea to sea, he secured them from the incursions of the Thracians who surround-

ed them, and delivered them from a grievous and oppressive war in which they had been continually engaged before, with the neighbouring nations of the Barbarians, and numerous bands of robbers who lived on the borders, or were inhabitants of the country. He likewise acquired great reputation among strangers by the voyage which he made round Peloponnesus with a fleet of an hundred ships, with which he fet fail from Pegæ a port of Megaris. For he not only ravaged the towns upon the fea-coast, but landing with the foldiers whom he had on board, he advanced far into the country, and obliged most of the inhabitants through fear to shelter themselves within their walls; and at Nemea entirely routed the Sicyonians, who flood their ground, and came to an engagement with him. Having erected a trophy of this victory, and put on board his fleet some soldiers that were furnished him by the Achæans, who were allies of the Athenians, he failed to the opposite continent, and paffing by the mouth of the Achelous, he made a descent in Acarnania, shut up the Oeneadæ within their walls, and having laid waste the country returned home. By this expedition he rendered himself formidable to the enemy, and gave his fellow-citizen a proof both of his resolution and prudence; for no miscarriage was committed, nor did even any unfortunate accident happen during the whole time.

He failed to Pontus with a fleet that was very numerous and well equipped; he treated the Grecian cities there with great kindness, and granted them every thing that they demanded. Beside this, by failing where-ever he pleased, and maintaining the dominion of the sea, he taught the Barbarians of those countries, together with their kings and governors, to respect both the power and the courage of the Athenians. He lest thirteen ships under the command of Lamachus and a number of soldiers with the inhabitants of Sinope, to enable them to oppose the tyrant Timesilaus; and after the tyrant and his party were ex-

pelled, he caused a decree to pass, that fix hundred volunteers should be fent from Athens to Sinope, and that the houses and lands which had formerly belonged to the tyrants, should be distributed among them. He was, however, far from countenancing all the wild and extravagant projects of the people; nor would he indulge them, when, elated with their power and fuccesses, they were desirous to attempt the recovery of Egypt, and to invade the maritime provinces of the king of Persia. Many of them were at this time possessed with that unfortunate and fatal passion for Sicily, which was afterwards more inflamed by the orators of Alcibiades's party. Some of them dreamed of the conquest of Hetruria and Carthage, which they thought was no vain and impracticable enterprife, confidering the great extent of their dominions and the prosperous course of their affairs.

But Pericles checked this eager, restless, and ambitious spirit; and employed the greatest part of their frength in feculing what they had already acquired; for he thought it no inconfiderable thing to restrain the power of the Lacedæmonians, against whom he had a particular enmity, which appeared on many occasions, and especially in the sacred war. For the Phocians having taken possession of the temple at Delphi, the Lacedæmonians fending an army thither reflored it to the inhabitants; but Pericles, immediately after the departure of the Lacedæmonians, marched thither with another army, and again put it into the hands of the Phocians. And as the Lacedæmonians had engraved upon the forehead of the brazen wolf, the privilege which the people of Delphi had granted them of first consulting the oracle; -Pericles obtained the fame privilege for the Athenians, and engraved it on the right fide of the fame image.

The event foon proved with how much prudence he had confined the force of the Athenians within the

limits

limits of Greece. For first of all, the Eubæans revolted, and he transported an army into their island in order to reduce them. Immediately after this, news was brought that the Megarenfians were in arms, and that the Lacedæmonians were advanced to the borders of Attica, under the conduct of Pliftonax their king. He therefore instantly returned from Euboea, to manage the war at home. The enemy offered him battle; he would not, however, venture to engage an army fo numerous and refolute. But finding that Plistonax was very young, and that he was chiefly guided by the advice of Cleandrides. whom the Ephori had appointed as a director and affilant to the king on account of his youth, he made application privately to this man, and foon prevailed on him by money to withdraw the Peloponnesians from Attica. The army having retired, and being dispersed through the several cities, the Lacedæmonlans were highly incenfed, and imposed such a fine upon the king, that, not being able to pay it, he was forced to leave the country. Cleandrides fled, but sentence of death was passed upon him. Gylip. pus, who defeated the Athenians in Sicily, was his fon; he was likewife infected with the fame vice of avarice, which he feemed to have derived like a natural and hereditary distemper from his father; and on account of those criminal practices to which this disposition prompted him, he was banished with ignominy from Sparta, as we have already related in the life of Lylander.

Pericles in his account of the expenses of this expedition had set down one article of ten talents for a necessary purpose; this the people allowed to pass without examination, and without inquiring into the mystery. But some writers, among whom is Theophrastus the philosopher, say that Pericles used to fend annually ten talents to Sparta, by which he gained the men in power, and prevailed on them to defer all acts of hostility; not that he intended hereby to

C 2

purchase:

purchase peace, but only to gain time, that he might have leifure to make preparations for carrying on the

war afterwards with greater advantage.

Immediately after the retreat of the Lacedæmonians, Pericles turned his arms against the revolters; and passing over into Eubæa with fifty ships, and five thousand soldiers, he reduced all the cities there. He expelled the Hippobotæ, who were the principal men for wealth and authority among the Chalcidenses, and drove the inhabitants of Hestiæa out of the country, supplying their place with Athenians. The cause of this severity was, that they having taken an Athenian ship, had murdered the whole crew.

Soon after this, a truce being made for thirty years between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, he procured a decree to be passed for an expedition against Samos; the ground of which was, that the Samians had refused to obey the orders which they had received from the Athenians, to make peace with the Milefians. It having been thought that Pericles engaged in this war merely to gratify Aspasia, it may not be improper in this place to give some account of this woman, and to confider what were those arts, and those powers of allurement, by which she captivated the greatest men of the state, and procured such frequent yet not dishonourable mention to be made of her even by philosophers. It is agreed by all that she was by birth a Milesian, and the daughter of Axiochus. It is faid that she imitated the conduct of Thargelia a courtezan who was descended from the ancient Ionians, and that from her example she learned to court the friendship only of the most powerful men in the republic. This Thargelia was a woman of remarkable beauty, and of great understanding and wit; she had many lovers among the Greeks, all of whom she brought over to the King of Persia's interest; and as they were men of the greatest eminence and authority, the feeds of the Median faction were by their means fown in many cities of Greece. Some

fav

fay that Pericles visited Aspasia only on account of her extraordinary wisdom, and her skill in political affairs. For even Socrates frequently went with fome of his friends to fee her; and those who were intimately acquainted with her, used to carry their wives to hear her conversation, though her occupation was not a decent and reputable one; for the kept a number of loose women in her house. Æschines fays, that Lyficles, who was a grazier, and naturally of a low grovelling disposition, by conversing with Aspasia after the death of Pericles, became the most confiderable man in Athens. And it appears from the Menexenus of Plato, that many of the Athenians reforted to her for the fake of improving themselves in the art of speaking, in which she was consummately skilled; for though the beginning of that dialogue is written in a ludicrous manner, yet this circumstance is historically true. But the attachment of Pericles to her, is most probably to be ascribed to an amorous motive. His first wife was his relation; the rich Callias was her fon by Hipponicus a former husband; she likewise had two sons by Pericles, Xanthippus and Paralus; but growing disagreeable to each other, they parted by consent; he disposed of her to another husband, and himself married Aspasia, whom he loved to affectionately, that when he went from his house to the forum, and when he returned home, he constantly faluted her with great tenderness. In the comedies she is called a second Omphale, sometimes Deianira, and fometimes Juno. plainly calls her a whore in these veries:

She, this Aspasia, this our Juno bore, A shameless, loveless, odious, filthy whore.

It is probable that he had a natural fon by her; for Eupolis, in his play called Demi, introduces Pericles asking this question,

Tell me; still lives my bastard?

To which Pironides replies:

Still be lives : And longs to prove the joys which wedlock gives; But in a wife, alas! he fears to find As rank a whore as fate to thee has join'd.

Such was the fame of Aspasia, that Cyrus who contended with Artaxerxes for the kingdom of Perfia, is faid to have given the name of Afpafia to his. favourite concubine, who was before called Milto. This woman was born in Phocis, and was the daughter of Hermotimus; when Cyrus was killed in battle, she was carried to the king, and had afterwards. great influence with him. As these particulars occu red to my memory while I was writing this hiftory, I thought I should be too morose if I omitted to

mention them.

Pericles, as we have faid, was accused of having at Aspasia's request prevailed on the people to take uparms against the Samians, and in defence of the Milesians. These two states had been at war for the city of Priene; and the advantage being on the fide of the Samians, they were ordered by the Athenians: to lay down their arms, and to come and plead their cause before them. Upon their refusal to comply. with this demand, Pericles failed with a fleet to Samos, and abolified the oligarchical form of government. He then took fifty of the principal men, and the fame number of children as hostages, whom he fent to Lemnos. It is faid, that each of the hostages offered him a talent for his ranfom, and that many other prefents were likewise offered him by fuch of the inhabitants as were enemies to a popular government. Piffuthnes the Persian, who was a friend to the Samians, also sent him ten thoufand pieces of gold, in order to mitigate his severity towards them. But Pericles would not receive any of these presents, nor treat the Samians othetwife than he at first determined; and when he

had established a democracy among them, he returned to Athens. Upon his departure, however, they immediately revolted, having privately recovered their hoftages by the affiftance of Piffuthnes. They made every necessary preparation for carrying on the war; and when Pericles came the second time with a fleet, in order to reduce them, he found them not in a negligent or desponding posture, but firmly refolved to contend with him for the dominion of the A sharp engagement ensued near the island Tragia; and Pericles obtained a glorious victory, having with forty four ships defeated seventy, twenty of which had foldiers on board. Puriting his victory, he made himself master of the harbour of Samos, and laid fiege to the city. The Samians still bravely defended themselves, and made vigorous sallies upon the enemy. But when another mo e confiderable fleet arrived from Athens, and they were entirely blocked up, Pericles, taking with him fixty thips, failed into the open fea, with a defign, as it is generally faid, to meet a Phoenician fleet that was coming to the relief of the Samians, and to engage with it at a distance from the island. Stefambrotus indeed fays that he intended to fail to Cyprus, which is very improbable. But whatever his defign was, he feems to have been guilty of an error. For as foon as he was gone, Melissus the fon of Ithagenes, a man of great reputation as a philosopher, and at that time commander of the Samians, despising the fmall fleet which he left behind him, and the unskilfulness of the commanders of it, persuaded the citie zens to make an attack upon the Athenians. The Samians were victorious in this engagement, took many prisoners, destroyed a considerable number of ships, became masters of the sea, and furnished themfelves with all things they wanted necessary to support the war. Aristotle fays that Pericles himself before this time had been defeated by Melissus in a seas fight. The Samians branded the Athenian prisoners nomana in

in the forehead with the figure of an owl, in returns for the infult which they had received from the Athenians, who had branded them with the figure of a Samæna, which is a kind of ship built low in the forepart, and wide and hollow in the sides, which form renders it very light and expeditious in failing; it was called Samæna, because it was was first invented at Samos by the tyrant Polycrates. Aristophanes is supposed to allude to the semarks in the following line:

The Samians are, we know, a letter'd race.

Pericles being informed of the misfortune that had befallen his army, came in all hafte to its relief; and having defeated Meliffus in a pitched battle, and put the Samians to flight, he blocked them up by building a wall round the city, chufing rather to gain the conquest at some expense of time and money, than by the wounds and danger of his countrymen. But when the Athenians were tired with the length of the fiege, and were so eager to fight that it was difficult to restrain them, he divided his whole army intoeight parts, which he ordered to draw lots; and that part which drew a white bean was permitted to spend the day in ease and pleasure, while the others were employed in fighting. And hence it is faid, a day spent in feasting and merriment is called a white day; in allufion to this white bean.

Ephorus relates, that Pericles in this siege made use of battering engines, with the contrivance of which he was highly pleased, they being then a new invention; and adds, that Artemon the engineer was with him, and that he on account of his lameness being carried about in a litter to direct such of the machines as required his presence, hence obtained the name of Periphoretus. But Heraclides of Pontus disproves this account, from some verses of Anacreon, in which Artemon Periphoretus is mentioned several ages before the Samian war. He says, that

Artemon

Artemon was a man extremely luxurious and effeminate, and of such excessive timidity, that he remained almost continually at home, where two servants always held a brazen shield over his head for fear any thing should fall upon him; and that if at any time he was necessarily obliged to go abroad, he was carried in a litter, which hung so low as almost to touch the ground; and that for this reason he was

called Periphoretus.

After nine months the Samians furrendered. Pericles demolished their walls, seized their ships, and fined them in a great fum of money, part of which they paid immediately; a time was fixed for the payment of the reft, and they gave hostages as a security. Duris the Samian describes these transactions in a most tragical manner, and accuses the Athenians and Pericles of monstrous cruelty, of which neither Thucydides, Ephorus, nor Aristotle make any mention. The account he gives is utterly incredible, that Pericles brought the commanders of the Samian ships together with the seamen into the market-place of Miletus, where he fastened them to boards, and left them in that condition for ten days, and then when they were almost expiring, ordered them to be killed by beating them on the head with clubs; after which their bodies were thrown out into the fields, where they remained unburied. Duris, who often swerves from the truth even when not misled by any particular passion or interest, seems in this case to have exaggerated the miseries of his country on purpose to bring a reproach upon the Athenians.

Pericles, upon his return to Athens after this conquest, celebrated with great magnificence the funeral of those who had died in the war, and pronounced an oration in honour of them, which charmed and astonished the audience. When he came down from the Rostrum, the women all ran to compliment him, and crowned him with garlands like one who had gained a victory in the public games. But Elpinice, coming

coming up to him, said, You have acted gloriously indeed, Pericles, and deserve to be crowned for sacrificing sh many of the bravest citizens, not in sighting with the Phænicians or Persians, as my brother Cimon did, but in destroying a city united to us both in blood and friendship. Pericles in reply only smiled, and repeated to her in a low voice these lines of Archilochus;

Leave, leave, for shame, these youthful airs; Nor paint, nor dress becomes gray hairs.

Ion fays that he was extremely elated with this success, and boasted that whereas Agamemnon spent ten years in taking a Barbarian city, he had subdued the most powerful state among the Ionians in the space of nine months. And indeed he had reason to pride himself on this conquest, the war having been attended with great hazard and uncertainty, if it be true, as Thucydides afferts, that the power of the Samians was so considerable, that the Athenians were in imminent danger of losing the dominion of the sea.

Some time after this, when the Peloponnesian war was ready to break out, the inhabitants of Corcyra being attacked by the Corinthians, Pericles perfuaded the people to fend them some affishance, and to fecure in their interest that island which had so confiderable a naval power, and would be of great fervice to them in the contest which they were likely to have foon with the Peloponnesians. The people having agreed to his propofal, he fent Lacedæmonius the fon of Cimon with no more than ten thips, as if he deligned only to difference him. For as there was a very great friendship subsisting between the family of Cimon and the Spartans, if Lacedæmonius performed nothing confiderable in this expedition, a strong suspicion might arise of his treacherously favouring the Spartan interest. For this reason Pericles fent him out with fo fmall a force, though he was very unwilling to accept of the command. But

it was the constant endeavour of Pericles to depress the family of Cimon; he often said, that his sons ought not to be looked upon as native Athenians, that their very names proved them to be of foreign and illegitimate extraction, one of them being called Lacedamonius, another Thessalus, and the third Eleus: and indeed it was generally thought that they were all born of an Arcadian woman. Pericles being much censured on occount of these ships, which, as they were a stender succour to those who had requested them, gave his enemies abundant occasion to reproach and vilify him, sent a larger seet to reinforce them, which did not arrive till the battle was over.

The Corinthians refenting the conduct of the Athenians, made their complaint to the Lacedæmoni-They were joined by the Megarenfians, who accused the Athenians of having excluded them from every market and every port in their dominions, contrary to the rights of nations, and the oaths which had been taken by the different states of Greece. The people of Ægina likewife, thinking themselves wronged and oppressed, though they durst not openly accuse the Athenians, yet applied in private to the Lacedæmonians. The fiege of Potidæa, which happened at the same time, contributed also to hasten the war. This city, though originally a Corinthian colony, was subject to the Athenians, and had now revolted. However, as ambaffadors were fent to Athens, and as Archidamus king of the Lacedæmonians endeavoured amicably to compose these differences, and to pacify the allies, the war might probably have been prevented, could the Athenians have been prevailed upon to come to an accommodation with the Megarenfians, and to have repealed the decree which they had made against them. Therefore, as the opposition which was made to this measure proceeded chiefly from Pericles, who inflamed the minds of the people, and perfifted in his implacable placable enmity to the Magarenfians, he was confi-

dered as the fole author of the war.

It is faid, that when the ambaffadors came upon this occasion to Athens from Sparta, Pericles alleged a certain law that forbade the taking down any table on which a decree of the people was written: Well then, said Polyarces one of the ambassadors, do not take it down; only turn the other fide outward: there is no law against that. The pleasantry of this repartee had no effect upon Pericles, nor in the least abated his animofity against the people of Megara. It is probable that his hatred to them was owing to some private and personal cause. But the charge which he brought against them in public was, that they had appropriated to themselves a piece of confecrated land; and he procured a decree to be paffed, that a herald should be fent to Megara to expostulate with them, and from thence should go to Sparta to accuse them there of this sacrilegious action. This decree of Pericles contained nothing more than a mild and equitable remonstrance. Put the herald Anthemocritus dying by the way, and the Megarenfians being suspected as the authors of his death, Charinus proposed a decree, that there should be an eternal and irreconcileable hatred between the two states; that if any Megarensian entered the territory of the Athenians, he should be put to death; that the Athenian generals, when they took the cuflomary oath, should swear besides to make an incurfion twice a-year into Megaris; and that Anthemocritus should be buried near the Thriasian gate, which is now called Dipylon. The Megarenfians, however, absolutely deny the murder of Anthemocritus, and charge the whole guilt of the war upon Aspasia and Pericles; in confirmation of which, they quote those well-known verses from the Acharnenses of Aristophanes:

Some drunken youths from Athens went To Megara, on mischief bent; And thence (their valour to display)
The whore Simætha stole away.
Rage fires the Megarensian throng;
With int'rest they repay the wrong;
And ent'ring good Aspasia's doors,
From her they force two fav'rite whores.
Behold the spring of all our wo!
Hence discord, war, and slaughter slow.

The real cause of this war is very difficult to discover; but that the above mentioned decree was not repealed, is universally ascribed to Pericles. Some think that his opposition to this measure proceeded from real greatness of mind, and a persuasion that he was acting for the best, as he thought that this proposition was made by the Lacedæmonians only to try the strength and resolution of the Athenians, and that to comply with it would have been to confess their weakness. Others are of opinion that he slighted the mediation of the Lacedæmonians from pride and obstinacy, from a spirit of contention, and a de-

fire to manifest his power and authority.

But that cause of the war which is the most exceptionable of all, and which is affigned by most writers, is this. Phidias the statuary had undertaken, as we have faid before, to make the statue of Minerva. The friendship and influence he had with Pericles, exposed him to envy, and procured him many enemies, who being defirous, by making an experiment upon him, to try the disposition of the people, and what would be the event if Pericles himfelf should be cited before them, perfuaded Menon, one of Phidias's workmen, to come as a suppliant into the forum, and implore the protection of the people, that he might be at liberty to bring an information against Phidias. His request being granted, Phidias was tried before an affembly of the people, but the theft with which Menon charged him could not be proved. For the gold which was used in making

making this statue, Phidias, by the advice of Pericles, had fastened to it in such a manner, that it was easy to take it off and weigh it; and this the accufers were bid to do by Pericles. Phidias however funk under the envy which his superior merit occafioned. But what gave the greatest offence was, that in the representation of the battle of the Amazons upon Minerva's shield, he had introduced his own figure, and appeared there in the likeness of a bald old man holding up a stone with both his hands. He had likewise engraven there an admirable figure of Pericles fighting with an Amazon; this was executed with confummate art, the hand that held out the spear seeming to have been designed to cover the face and conceal the refemblance, which, nevertheless, strongly appeared on each fide. Phidias at last ended his life in a prison. Some fay that he died a natural death, others that he was poisoned by his enemies, who intended to take occasion from thence to flander Pericles. As to the informer Menon, the people granted him an immunity from taxes by a decree which was proposed by Glycon; and the generals were charged to provide for his fecurity.

About the same time Aspasia was prosecuted for impiety, upon the accusation of Hermippus the comic poet, who charged her besides with entertaining certain women of reputable families, to serve the debaucheries of Pericles. Diopithes likewise proposed a decree, that all those who denied the existence of the gods, or who taught profane opinions concerning celeftial appearances, should be tried before an affembly of the people. This decree, though it most immediately affected Anaxagoras, yet was indirectly levelled at Pericles. The people feeming to listen readily to these accusations, another decree was proroled by Dracontides, that Pericles should lay before the Prytanes an account of the public money with which he had been intrusted, and that the judges should take the ballots from the altar, and try

the cause in the city. But the last article was changed by Agnon, and it was decreed that the cause should be tried by the fifteen hundred judges, whether the accusation were laid for embezzlement and taking of bribes, or in general for corrupt practices. Aspasia was acquitted; Pericles having, as Æschines fays, by force of tears and entreaties moved the judges to compassion. But fearing the event of Anaxagoras's trial, he fent him out of the city, and accompanied him part of the way. And as he himfelf was become obnoxious to the people upon Phidias's account, and was afraid of the confequence should he be called into a court of judicature, he urged on the war which as yet was lingering, and blew up that flame, which till then was stifled and suppressed. By this means he hoped to remove all reproach and accusation, and to mitigate the envy and ill-will of the people; for fuch was his authority and reputation, that in times of difficulty and danger they placed their confidence in him alone. Thefa are the different causes assigned for his having prevented the people from yielding to the demand of the Lacedæmonians: which was the true one, is not known.

The Lacedæmonians being perfuaded that if they could ruin Pericles, they might eafily manage the Athenians, required them to remove from the city all execrable persons; for Pericles, as Thucydides fays, was by the mother's fide descended from some of those who had been pronounced execrable in the affair of Cylon. But this had a contrary effect to what the Lacedæmonians expected; for, instead of distrust and reproach, it procured Pericles greater confidence and esteem from the Athenians, who considered him as the man whom their enemies most of all feared and hated. And therefore before Archidamus invaded Attica at the head of the Peloponnesian army, Pericles declared to the Athenians, that if Archidamus, when he was ravaging the rest of their D 2

lands, should abstain from his, either on account of the friendship and right of hospitality that subsisted between them, or to furnish his enemies with matter of flander against him, he would give his lands and houses to the public. The Lacedæmonians and their allies foon after entered Attica with a great army under the conduct of King Archidamus. They laid waste the whole country, and advanced as far as Acharnæ, where they encamped, expecting that the Athenians would not patiently fuffer them to continue there, but that pride and indignation would provoke them to fight. Pericles, however, thought it too dangerous an experiment to risk no less than the preservation of the city it'elf upon an engagement with fixty thousand Lacedæmonian and Eccotian troops; for that was the number employed in the first expedition. As to these who, being exasperated by the devastations which the Lacedæmonians had committed, were eager to come to a battle, he endeavoured to cool and pacify them, by faying, that trees after they are lopped will foon grow again, but when men are cut off, the loss is not easily repaired. He avoided calling an affembly of the people, left he should be forced to act contrary to his opinion. But as a pilot in a storm, when he has given proper directions, and disposed every thing belonging to the ship in the best manner, acts as the rules of his art require, regardless of the tears and entreaties of the fick and fearful passengers; thus Pericles having shut up the gates, appointed the guards, and taken every proper measure for their security, pursued the dictates of his own prudence, without paying any attention to the clamours and complaints of others. On one fide he was attacked by the importunity of his friends, on the other by the threats and reproaches of his enemies. He was continually infulted by fatirical fongs, and various other expressions of ridicule and contempt; his caution was represented as cowardice, and a defertion of his country, which he thus left as a prey

prey to the enemy. Cleon too inceffantly reviled him, making the general refentment against Pericles a means of increasing his own popularity; as appears by these verses of Hermippus:

Why, king of satyrs, is the spear declin'd
For empty threats that mingle with the wind?
As groans the whetstone, when the faulchion's side
To gain new keenness is with skill applied,
So while you sharpen Cleon's wit, you rave,
Your tongue a hero, but your heart a slave.

Pericles, however, continued unmoved, patiently and filently enduring all these indignities and 1eproaches. And though he fent a fleet of an hundred thips to Peloponnesus, he would not fail with them, but remained at home to watch over the city, and keep the reins of government in his own hands till the Peloponnesians should retire. In order to appeale the discontent of the common people on account of the war, he made a distribution of money and land; for having expelled the inhabitants of Ægina, he divided the island by lot among the Athenians. It was also some satisfaction to them to hear of the calamities which their enemies suffered. For those who failed to Peloponnesus ravaged a large tract of country, and plundered and destroyed a great. number of villages and small towns. He likewise. in person invaded the Megarensians, and laid waste their whole territory. Though the Peloponnesians fo much diffressed the Athenians by land, yet as they were themselves equally distressed by sea, they would foon have been tired out, and have put an end to the war before it had been drawn out to fo great a length, (as Pericles foretold from the beginning), had not some divine power interposed to defeat the schemes of human prudence. For a pestilence broke out which consumed the most courageous and vigorous of the youth. And it not only affected their bodies, but their minds, fo that D 3 they.

they grew outrageous against Pericles, like men who in the delirium of a fever strike even their physician or their father: for the enemies of Pericles persuaded the citizens, that the distemper proceeded from the multitude of country-people who were crouded together in the city, and obliged, during the heat of summer, to live a lazy and inactive life, confined in little close tents and cabins, instead of breathing the pure and open air to which they had been accustomed. Of this, they said, he was the cause, who had, in consequence of that war which he himself had occasioned, poured in such vast numbers of people from the country, whom he kept unemployed, and penned up like cattle, to insect and destroy each other, without affording them any intervals of relief and refreshment.

Being desirous to remedy this calamity, and at the fame time to annoy the enemy, he fitted out a fleet of an hundred and fifty ships, on board of which he embarked a great number of stout soldiers, both horse So large an armament very much encouraged the citizens, and no less terrified the enemy. Tuft after the men were all embarked, and Pericles himself was gone on board his own galley, there happened an eclipse of the sun. This sudden darkness was looked upon as an unfavourable omen, and threw them all into a great consternation. Pericles observing that the pilot was very much terrified and perplexed, put his cloak before the man's face, and wrapping him up in it, asked him if there was any thing terrible in that, or if he thought it portended any calamity? He answered, No. And what difference, faid he, is there between this darkness and the other, except that the eclipse is caused by something larger than a cloak? But the discussion of these subjects belongs to the schools of philosophy.

Pericles in this expedition performed nothing suitable to the greatness of his preparations. He laid single to the facred city of Epidaurus, but without success; this was owing to a distemper which raged

in his army, and not only destroyed his soldiers, but all other persons who upon any occasion came into the camp. This unsuccessful expedition highly incensed the Athenians against Pericles, who endeavoured in vain to comfort and pacify them; nothing could allay their resentment till they had afferted their own power, and by a general suffrage deprived him of the command, and imposed a fine upon him; the sum according to the lowest account was sisteen talents, according to the highest fifty. The accusation was managed by Cleon, as Idomeneus tells us; but Theophrastus says that Simmidas was the accuser, and Heraclides of Pontus that it was Lacratidas.

As to these misfortunes which he suffered from the public, they were likely foon to have an end; for the people had, as it were, left their fting in the wound, and their anger was spent as soon as gratified. But his domestic afflictions were more fevere; he had loft many of his friends and relations by the plague, and a division had long subsisted in his family. Xanthippus the eldest of his legitimate sons, who was himfelf of a prodigal disposition, and who had married a young extravagant wife, the daughter of Isander the fon of Epylicus, being extremely provoked at his father's exact occonomy, and the scanty allowance which he received from him, fent to one of his friends to borrow a fum of money in the name of Pericles. When the man afterwards demanded it, Pericles not only refused to pay it, but likewise brought an action against him. This so enraged Xanthippus, that he began openly to abuse and revile his father. First be turned into ridicule his conversations at home, and the discourses he held with the sophists; and said, that when Epitimius the Pharfalian had undefignedly killed a horse by throwing a dart at the public games, his father disputed for a whole day with Protagoras, whether the dart, or the man who threw it, or the persons who directed the sports, ought, according to truth and reason, to be considered as the cause of this accident.

accident. Beside this, as Stefimbrotus says, he publicly spread a report of an infamous commerce between his wife and Pericles; and he continued this implacable hatred against his father even to the end of his life. He died of the plague. At the fame time Pericles also lost his fister, and most of his relations and friends who had been of the greatest service to him in managing the commonwealth. But he remained unshaken in the midst of these misfortunes, and still preserved his wonted dignity and serenity of mind, He neither wept nor performed any funeral rites, nor was he feen at the grave of any of his nearest relations, till the death of Paralus his only furviving legitimate fon. This at last subdued him : he endeavoured indeed still to maintain his former character, and to show the same invincible firmness of mind by which he had been always diftinguished; but as he was putting a wreath upon the head of the dead body, not being able to support so affecting a fight, he (for the first time in his whole life). burst into a loud lamentation, and shed a flood of tears.

The people having made a trial of other generals and orators, and finding that none of them had abilities and authority equal to fo important a charge, regretted the absence of Pericles, and invited him to refume his former power both in civil and military affairs. He had then for some time shut himself up at home to indulge his forrow; and his spirits were quite depressed by the weight of his misfortunes. But, at the perfuation of Alcibiades and his other friends. he again appeared in public; and the people having acknowledged their ingratitude to him, he accepted the government. As toon as he was appointed general, he procured a repeal of that law concerning bastards, of which he himself had been the author; for if it had continued in force, his name and family must have become utterly extinct for want of a fuccesfor. The history of that law is this. Many years before,

before, when Pericles was in the height of his power, and had, as we have already mentioned, fome legitimate children, he perfuaded the people to make a law that none should be esteemed citizens of Athens but those whose parents were both Athenians. When the king of Egypt fent forty thousand medimni of wheat to be distributed among the people of Athens, many contests and prosecutions arose in consequence of this law: for great numbers of those whom the law declared illegitimate, and who had hitherto paffed unnoticed, were on this occasion discovered and profecuted; and feveral besides were unjustly differaced by means of false accusations. Near five thoufand were fentenced as illegitimate, and fold for flaves. The number of those who upon examination appeared to be true Athenians, and entitled to the freedom of the city, was fourteen thousand and forty. Though it was hard and unreasonable that a law which had been put in execution with fuch feverity should be repealed at the request of him who had first proposed it, yet the Athenians being touched with compassion for the domestic misfortunes of Pericles, and thinking that he had been sufficiently punished for his excessive pride and haughtiness, and that humanity required them to alleviate these cruel persecutions of fortune by tenderness and kind offices, allowed him to register his fon in his own tribe and under his own name. This was he who afterwards defeated the Peloponnesians in a sea-fight at Arginusæ, and was put to death by the people together with his colleagues.

About this time Pericles was seized with the plague; it did not, however, operate with its usual violence and constancy, but was rather a lingering distemper, which, with frequent intermissions and by slow degrees, wasted his body and ensee led his mind. Theophrastus in his Ethics, when he is considering whether the characters of men may be changed by their fortunes, and whether the soul may be so affected by

the disorders of the body as to be deprived of its virtue, relates, that Pericles showed to a friend who came to visit him in his sickness, an amulet which had been hung about his neck by the women, intimating that he must be sick indeed, since he sub-

mitted to fo ridiculous a superstition.

While he lay at the point of death, his furviving friends and the principal citizens, who were fitting round his bed, discourfed together concerning his extraordinary virtue and the great authority which he had enjoyed, and mentioned his various exploits and the number of his victories; for while he was general of the Athenians, he had erected nine trophies for nine victories which he had obtained. They imagined that he was quite infenfible, and that he understood nothing of their conversation; but he had listened attentively to all that had been said; and on a fudden breaking filence, he told them, that he wondered they should extol those actions in which fortune had a considerable share, and which were such as had been performed by many other commanders, and that they should omit the best and most honourable part of his character, which was, that no Athenian through his means had ever put on mourning.

Such was Pericles; a man who merits our highest admiration, whether we consider that lenity and moderation of temper which he constantly preserved amidst all the difficulties of public business and the violence of party-contentions, or that real dignity of sentiment which appeared in his esteeming this, among his various excellencies, to be the greatest, that, though his power was so absolute, he had never employed it to gratify his envy or resentment, nor had ever behaved to an enemy as if he thoughthim irreconcileable. And, in my opinion, his kind and dispassionate nature, his unblemished integrity and irreproachable conduct during his whole administration, are of themselves sufficient to justify the appellation of Olympius which was bestowed upon

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him; for though he could not otherwise have worn that title without arrogance and absurdity, yet his virtue prevented it from being the object of envy, and rendered it graceful and becoming. For this is the ground of our veneration for the gods; and we judge them worthy to rule and direct the universe, because they are the authors of good only, and not of evil. The poets indeed attempt to perplex and mislead us by their vain and ridiculous imaginations; but they confute themselves: for though they describe the habitation of the gods as a place of perfect fecurity and repose, not disturbed by winds nor obscured by clouds, but perpetually illuminated by a pure light, and bleffed with uninterrupted ferenity, fuch an abode being best suited to the nature of happy and immortal beings; yet they represent the gods themselves, as agitated by vexation, hatred, anger, and various other passions unworthy even of a wise man. these reflections are, perhaps, more proper for some other place.

The state of public affairs after the death of Pericles foon convinced the Athenians of the greatness of their loss. For those who during his life most repined at the fplendour of that power by which they were themselves darkened and eclipsed, as soon as he was dead, and a trial had been made of other orators and governors, acknowledged that no man could like him temper his pride with humanity and moderation, or unite fo much dignity with fo much mildness and patience. And that high authority which before had exposed him to envy, and had been represented as equal to that of a king or a tyrant, appeared now to have been the support and preservation of the state; so enormous was that corruption and wickedness which afterwards overspread the commonwealth, and which during his administration had been checked and suppressed, and prevented from gaining such strength as to become quite desperate

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## LIFE

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## PELOPIDAS.

Ato the elder one day hearing fome perfons A extol a man who had shown a thoughtless temerity in battle, made this just observation, that there was a great deal of difference between the love of virtue and the contempt of life. It is related, that there was in King Antigonus's army a foldier of a very unhealthy complexion, but of uncommon bravery; the king inquiring what was the cause of his pale and fickly look, and learning from him that it was owing to some fecret disease, gave strict order to his physicians to take all possible care of him, and to spare no pains for his cure. In a short time this brave foldier was cured; after which he never appeared fo fond of danger, nor fo daring in battle; the king, very much furprifed at fuch a change, reproached him with it: the foldier, far from concealing the true reason, said, Sir, You only are the cause that I am less bold and desperate than heretofore, by delivering me from that mifery which made life a burden to me. And to this purpose is the faying of a certain Sybarite concerning the Spartans, That it was no merit in them that they were forward to expose themselves in battle, and seemed to court death, since it was a deliverance to them from all the hardships and severities they suffered in life. But it is no wonder that

the Sybarites, who were diffolved in luxury and pleasure, should imagine that they who despised death, did it not out of a love of virtue and homour, but from a weariness and abhorrence of life. But the Lacedæmonians were of a different opinion; they thought that virtue rendered both life and death pleasant, according to the old epitaph:

They dy'd, but not as lavish of their blood, Or thinking death itself was simply good; Both life and death the strictest virtue tried, And as that call'd they gladly liv'd, or died.

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For neither is an endeavour to avoid death blameable, when life may be defired without shame or dishonour; nor is there any virtue in suffering death with constancy and resolution, when it proceeds only from an aversion to life. Hence it is that Homer always reprefents his bravest warriors going to battle well armed; and the Grecian legislators punished any one who threw away his shield, though they excused the loss of a sword or spear; intimating thereby, that a man's care in preferving himfelf is preferable to his hurting the enemy, especially in the governor of a city, or the general of an army. And indeed, to make use of Iphicrates's comparison, if we compare the light-armed foldiers to the hands, the cavalry to the feet, the main body to the breaft, and the general to the head, that general who fuffers himself to be carried too far by his martial andour, does not only hazard his own person, but the lives of all those whose fafety depends on him. And therefore Callicratides, though in other respects a great man, did not answer the augur well, who befought him not to expose himself to danger, because the entrails of the victim boded ill to him, and threatened his life; Sparta, said he, is not bound up in one man. It is true indeed, that Callicratides, fighting under the command of another person, whether by sea or land,

land, was no more than one man; but being general of an army, he contained in himself the whole ftrength and power of all those who were under his command; fo that he, on whose life the fafety of fo many thousands depended, was no longer a fingle person. Old Antigonus, just before a great seafight near the island of Andros, answered much better to one who told him that the enemy was far fuperior to him in number of ships; For how many then, faid he, dost thou reckon me? thereby laying a proper stress upon the importance of a chief commander. if he be a man of experience and valour; and the first care of such a one should be to preserve himfelf, fince he is the fafety and fecurity of all the rest. Therefore when Chares was showing the Athenians the wounds he had received while he was their general, and his shield pierced by a spear, Timotheus well replied, For my part, when I besieged Samos, feeing an arrow fall very near me, how much was I ofbamed for baving needlessly exposed myself like a rash young man, and further than became the commander of se great an army? Indeed where success in a great measure depends on the general's exposing himself, in fuch a case he ought not to spare his person, but exert himself to the utmost, without any regard to their maxims, who fay that a general ought to die of age, or at least an old man. But where the ad. vantage of his victory will not be great, and the consequence of a defeat will be destructive, no one would defire him to perform the part of a common foldier, by hazarding the lofs of a general.

This is what I judged proper to premise before the lives of Pelopidas and Marcellus, who were both great men, but both perished by their rashness. For being very brave and daring, and having done honour to their country by their glorious exploits performed against very formidable enemies, (the one having vanquished Hannibal, till then invincible; and the other defeated the Lacedæmonians, who were masters both at sea and land, in a pitched battle), they ventured too far, and inconsiderately threw away their lives, when their countries stood most in need of such valiant men, and such skilful commanders. And therefore from the similitude there was between them we have drawn

their parallel.

Pelopidas, the fon of Hippoclus, was descended, as Epaminondas likewife was, from a noble family in Thebes. He was brought up from his infancy in plenty and opulence, and coming early to the possession of a great estate, made it his business to relieve fuch as were indigent and deferving; that he might make it appear he was truly the mafter of, and not a flave to his riches. For as to the bulk of mankind, as Aristotle fays, some of them through avarice make no use at all of their wealth, while others abuse it to debauchery and excess: the latter live perpetual flaves to their pleafures, the former to care and toil. But though others made use of Pelopidas's generofity, and thankfully received his favours; Epaminondas alone of all his friends -could never be prevailed onto partake of his wealth. Pelopidas however condescended to stoop to his poverty; and, after his example, took a pleasure in ordinary apparel, a frugal table, unwearied labour, and in appearing plain and open in the highest posts and employments; like Capaneus in Euripides,

Whose wealth was never by folly misapplied, To serve his pleasure, or indulge his pride.

For Pelopidas thought it a shame to spend more up-

on himself, than the poorest Theban.

As for hpaminondas, though poverty was familiar and hereditary to him, yet he made it ftill more light and eafy by philosophy, and by chusing from the beginning a simple and uniform manner of life. But Pelopidas married into a good family, and had a great many children; yet, notwithstanding the E 2 increase

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increase of his expenses, he was still indifferent to wealth; and by bestowing all his time upon the public, he at last very much impaired his estate. And when some of his friends one day represented it to him, and told him, that money which he neglected was a very necessary thing: It is very necessary, replied he, for Nicodemus there, pointing to a man of that name, who was both lame and blind. Epaminondas and he were both born with the same disposition to all kind of virtues; but Pelopidas took more pleafure. in the exercises of the body, and Epaminondas in. the improvements of the mind; so that they spent all their leifure time, the one in hunting, and the Palæstra, the other in learned conversation and the study of philosophy. But of all the things for which they are so much celebrated, the judicious part of mankind reckon none fo great and glorious as that strict friendship which they inviolably preserved through the whole course of their lives, in all the high posts they held, both military and civil. For whoever reflects upon the diffension, jealoufy, and envy that always reigned between Aristides and Themistocles, Cimon and Pericles, Nicias and Alcibiades, during their administration of affairs, and then confiders that affection and respect which Pelopidas and Epaminondas constantly had, for each other; must confess that these more truly deserved to be ftyled companions and colleagues in government and in military command, than those others, whose mutual enmity exceeded even that they bore the enemies of their country, and who made it the bufiness of their whole lives to supplant and ruin one another. The true cause of this was the virtue of Epaminondas and Pelopidas, which kept them, in all their actions, from aiming at wealth and fame, the pursuit of which is always attended with strife and envy; for being both equally inflamed with a divine ardour to make their country prosperous and happy

happy by their administration, they looked upon.

each other's fuccess as their own.

Most authors indeed write that this strict friend. ship between them did not begin still the battle of Mantinea, when the Thebans fent fuccours to the Lacedæmonians, who were at that time their friends and allies. For being both in that battle near one another, in the infantry, and fighting against the Arcadians, that wing of the Lacedæmonians in which they were, gave way and was broken; which Pelopidas and Epaminondas perceiving, they joined their shields, and keeping close together, bravely repulsed all that attacked them; till at last Pelopidas, after receiving feven large wounds, fell upon a heap of friends and enemies who lay dead together. Epaminondas, though he believed him flairs advanced before him to defend his body and arms, and for a long time maintained his ground against great numbers of the Arcadians, being refolved to die rather than desert his companion, and leave him in the enemy's power; but being wounded in his breaft by a spear, and in his arm by a sword, he was quite disabled and ready to fall, when Agesipolis, king of the Spartans, came from the other wing to his relief, and, beyond all expectation, faved both their lives.

After this battle the Lacedamonians behaved towards the Thebans, in all outward appearance, as friends and allies, though they were in reality jealous of the growing power and grandeur of their city. But above all, they had conceived a particular hatred against the party of ismenias and Androclides, (in which Pelopidas was an affociate), looking upon them as too zealous for liberty and a popular government. Therefore Archias, Leontidas, and Philip, who were all three very rich, immoderately ambitious, and violently bent upom an oligarchical government, proposed to Phœbidas the Lacedamonian, who was marching by Thebes with a

body of troops to seize the castle called Cadmea, to drive away all the opposite party, to make the city subject to the Lacedæmonians, and to put the government into the hands of the nobility. Phœbidas approved their propofal, and during the festival of Ceres, when the I hebans little expected any act of hostility, put his design in execution, and made himself master of the castle. Ismenias was taken, and carried away to Lacedæmon, where he was in a short time put to death; but Pelopidas, Pherenicus, Androclides, and many more that fled. were fentenced to perpetual banishment. As for Epaminondas, he remained at Thebes unmolested, and difregarded, as a man who from his philosophy. was difinclined to attempt, and from his poverty was unable to profecute any great undertaking.

When the Lacedæmonians heard what Phœbidas had done, they deprived him of his command, and fined him a hundred thousand drachmas; but they still kept possession of the Cadmea, and continued a garrison in it. All the other Grecians were greatly surprised at this ridiculous inconsistency, to authorise and consirm an action, and yet at the same time punish the actor. And the Thebans having thus lost their ancient form of government, and being enslaved by Archias and Leontidas, saw no means nor hopes of being freed from a tyranny, which was supported by the Lacedæmonians, nor a possibility of breaking the yoke, but by such a power as was sufficient to deprive them of the superiority which they had both by sea and land.

Leontidas being informed that the exiles had retired to Athens, where they were kindly received by the common people, and honoured by men of rank and fortune, formed fecret defigns against their lives, by means of certain unknown assassins whom he fent thither. Androclides fell by their

hands, but all the rest escaped. In a rest to rop land

At the same time the Athenians received letters

from Sparta, warning them neither to receive nor encourage the exiles, but expel them as persons who had been declared common enemies to Greece by all the allies. But the Athenians, beside their natural humanity, thought themselves obliged to make a grateful acknowledgment and return to the Thebans, who had very much affished them in restoring their democracy, and had publicly enacted, that if any Athenian should march armed against the tyrants through Boeotia, he should meet with no hinderance or molestation from the Boeotians. The Athenians, from these considerations, attempt-

ed nothing at all against the Thebans.

Pelopidas, though very young at that time, privately excited each fingle exile, and often told them at their meetings, that it was both dishonourable and impious, to neglect their enflaved and captive country, and, meanly contented with their own lives and fafety, to depend on the decrees of the Athenians, and fawn on every orator that had the art of wheedling the people; and that they ought to run every hazard in fo glorious a caufe, taking Thrasybulus's courage for their example; for as be advanced from Thebes, and broke the power of the tyrants in Athens, fo should they march from Athens, and deliver Thebes. When he had perfuaded them by this difcourse, they fent fecretly to Thebes, to acquaint their friends there with their defigns, which were highly approved of; and Charon, a person of the greatest quality in the city, offered his house for their reception. Philidas found means to be made fecretary to Archias and Philip, who were then Polemarchs; and as for Epaminondas, he had taken pains all along to inspire the youth with courage and magnanimity: for, at their exercises, he always advised them to challenge and wrestle with the Spartans, and when he faw them pleased and elated, for having thrown and vanquished them, he -told them, that they ought rather to be ashamed of their solbrawos om that power, giew giddy as it were wich

cowardice in being enflaved by those, whom in strength'

they fo much excelled.

The day for action being fet, it was agreed upon by the exiles, that Pherenicus with the reft should stay at I hriasium, and some few of the younger men try the first danger by endeavouring to get into the city, and if they were furprifed by their enemies, the others should take care to provide for their families. Pelopidas was the first that offered himself for this undertaking, and after him Melon, Damoclidas, and Theopompus; all of them persons of the best families in I hebes, intimate and faithful friends in all things elfe, but rivals in honour and virtue. They were in all twelve; and having taken leave of their companions who staid behind at Thriasium, and dispatched a messenger to advertise Charon of their coming, they set forward, meanly clad, and carrying with them hounds and hunting poles, that they might not give any fuspicion to those who met them on the road, but might be taken for hunters straggling about in purfuit of their game.

When their messenger arrived at Thebes, and had given Charon an account of their being upon the road, the approach of danger did not make him change his mind; but, like a man of probity and honour, he stood to his promise, and

made preparations to receive them.

Among those who were privy to this design, there was one Hipposthenidas, who was a well-meaning man, loved his country, and was a friend to the exiles; but he wanted that fortitude and resolution which so hazardous an enterprise required. This man, considering the greatness of the danger; in which they were going to embark, and not being able to comprehend how by the weak assistance of a few indigent exiles they should be strong enough to shake the Spartan government, and free themselves from that power, grew giddy as it were with

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the reflection. In this perplexity he went privately to his own house, and dispatched a friend to Melon and Pelopidas, defiring them to defer their enterprife for the prefent, to return to Athens, and wait there till a more favourable opportunity should offer. This meffenger's name was Chlidon, who going home in all hafte, and taking his horse out of the stable, bid his wife bring him the bridle; but the being at a lofs, and not knowing where to find it, faid, she had lent it to a neighbour. Chlidon upon this fell into a passion; from whence they foon proceeded to reproachful language, and after that to imprecations, his wife curfing him bitterly, and praying that his journey might prove fatal to himself, and those who sent him. Chlidon's pasfion transported him so far, that he spent most of the day in this fourabble, and looking upon what had happened as an ill omen, laid afide all thoughts of his journey, and went elsewhere. So near were these great and glorious designs of miscarrying in the very birth. But Pelopidas and his affociates dreffing themselves like peasants, divided, and whilst it was yet day entered at several quarters of the city; besides, it was the beginning of winter, and the fnow fell, and a sharp wind blew, which contributed much to their concealment, because most of the citizens kept within doors to avoid the inclemency of the weather. But they that were in. the fecret, received them as they came, and conducted them forthwith to Charon's house; all of them together, exiles and others, making up fortyeight in number.

As for the tyrants, their affairs stood thus. Philidas, their secretary, was, as I said before, an accomplice in the affair, and very forward to promote it. He had some time before promised to give Archias and his friends an entertainment at his house that very day, and to provide some women of pleasure in the town to meet them there. This

he did with a view, that when they were enfeebled by lewdness and excess, they might fall a more easy sa-

crifice to the conspirators.

They had not been long at table before a rumour was fpread among them, which, though not false, feemed uncertain, and confirmed by no circumstance, that the exiles lay somewhere concealed in the city. Philidas did what he could to divert the discourse; but Archias sent an officer to Charon to command his immediate attendance. By this time it was growing dark, fo that Pelopidas and his friends were preparing for action, having their armour on already, and their fwords girt: when on a fudden a great knocking was heard at the door; whereupon one stepping forth to know the meaning of it, and learning from the officer that he was come with an order to carry Charon to Archias, he returned in great hafte and confusion, to give them an account of this terrible news. Every one at first believed that the whole plot was discovered, and that they should be all destroyed, without being able to perform any exploit worthy of their undaunted bravery and refolution. However, they were unanimous in their opinion, that Charon should obey the order, and appear boldly before the tyrants, as no way terrified or conscious of any guilt. Charon, being a man of great firmness and intrepidity, was unmoved at the danger that threatened himfelf, but full of concern for the fafety of his friends; and apprehending, that he might be fuspected of treachery in case so many valiant citizens should be destroyed, before he left the house, he went into the womens apartment, and brought out his only fon, who was very young, but for beauty and ftrength superior to any of his age, and with these words delivered him to Pelopidas, If you find me a traitor, use this boy as an enemy, and be cruel in the execution. The affliction and the magnanimity of Charon drew tears from many; but it extremely trouthem could be guilty of such baseness or cowardice, at the approach of danger, as either to suspect or blame his conduct; and they most earnestly besought him not to leave his son with them, but to remove him somewhere to a place of safety, that so he might one day revenge his friends and country, if he was so happy as to escape the tyrants sury. But Charon absolutely resused to remove him, saying, What life, what safety can be more honourable, than to die bravely with his sather, and with so many generous friends and companions? Then imploring the protection of the gods, and embracing and encoura-

ging them all, he parted.

On the way, as he went along, he endeavoured to recover himself, and so to compose his countenance and voice, that they might have as little conformity as possible with the real state of his mind. When he was come to the door of the house, Archias and Philip went out to him, and faid, What persons are thefe, Charon, who are lately come to town, as we are informed, and are concealed and countenanced by some of our citizens? Charon was at first in a little disorder, but recovering himself quickly, he asked them, Who these persons they spoke of, were, and by whom harboured? and perceiving by Archias's answer, that he had no certain or particular knowledge of the matter, concluded, that his information could not come from any one who was privy to the defign, and therefore faid to them, Do not be disturbed by a vain rumour; however I will make the best inquiry I can; for nothing of this kind ought to be neglected. Philidas, who then appeared, commended his prudence; and bringing Archias back to the company, drank him up to a high pitch; and prolonged the entertainment, by keeping them still in expectation of leeing the women.

Charon, at his return home, finding his friends not in expectation of fafety and fuccess, but as men

refolved to die bravely, after being revenged on their enemies, told Pelopidas the plain truth, but concealed it from the rest, inventing several things, which he pretended Archias had discoursed him about.

This from was scarce blown over before fortune raifed another; for almost at the very same time arrived an express, sent from Archias the high prieft of Athens to his namefake Archias of Thebes, who was his particular friend. The letters he brought did not contain an uncertain rumour. founded only on furmifes and fuspicions, but, as appeared afterwards, a full and exact account of the whole conspiracy. When the courier was brought to Archias, who was by this time well warmed with liquor, as he delivered his letters to him, he faid, Sir, the person who wrote these letters conjures you to read them forthwith, for they contain business of great importance. But Archias taking the letters, faid, fmiling, Business to-morrow; and putting them under the bolfter of his couch, refumed his former converfation with Philidas. Those words, Bufiness to-morrow, grew into a proverb, and continue to to this day among the Greeks.

When every thing was ripe for action, the conspirators issued out, and divided themselves into two bodies; one under the command of Pelopidas and Damoclidas marched against Leontidas and Hypates, who were neighbours; and the other, led by Charon and Melon, went to attack Archias and Philip. These put womens cloaths over their armour, and pine and poplar about their heads to shade their faces. As soon as they appeared at the door where the guests were, the whole company shouted for joy, believing them to be the women they had so long expected. But when the conspirators had looked round the room, and diligently observed all who were present, they drew their swords, and made at Archias and Philip across the

table, which foon discovered who they were. Philidas prevailed with a few of his guests to sit still; the rest who rose up to defend themselves, and assist their chiefs, being disordered with wine, were

eafily dispatched.

But Pelopidas and his party met with a more difficult talk; for they were obliged to encounter a fober and valiant man. When they came to the house of Leontidas, they found the doors shut. he being already gone to bed; there they knocked a long time before any body answered; but at last, a fervant that heard them, came down to open the door; but he had scarce unbolted, and not half opened it, when rushing in all together, they overturned the man, and ran as fast as they could up stairs to Leontidas's chamber. Leontidas hearing the noise, suspected the matter, and leaping from his bed, feized his fword; but forgot to put out his lights, which, had he done it, might have been the occasion of their falling foul on one another in the dark, and fo he himself might have escaped. But though he had the disadvantage of being easily seen by reason of the light, he received them at his chamber-door, and stabbed Cephifodorus, who was the first man that attempted to enter. The next that he encountered was Pelopidas; but the paffage being narrow, and Cephifodorus's dead body lying in the way, the dispute was long and difficult; however at last Pelopidas overpowered him, and killed him. From thence they went all together to find out Hypates, and got into his house after the very same manner: but he, alarmed at the noise, made his escape into a neighbour's house, whither they closely followed him, and killed him. After this they marched to join Melon, and fent to hasten the exiles they had left in Attica, proclaiming liberty to all the Thebans. They likewife took down the spoils that hung over the porticoes, and breaking open the shops of the armourers, and

fword-cutlers, armed all those that came to their affistance. Epaminondas and Gorgidas having gathered together and armed a large body of young men, and some of the strongest of the old men,

came in, and joined them.

The whole city was by this time in great terror and confusion, the houses full of lights, and the streets of people running to and fro; yet they did not gather together in a body, but being amazed at what had happened, and knowing nothing with certainty, waited impatiently for the day. The Spartan officers were undoubtedly guilty of a great oversight, in not falling upon the conspirators, while this confusion lasted; for the garrison at that time consisted of 1500 men, and they were joined besides by many of the people of the city. But being in a kind of consternation at the outcries, numerous lights, and consused hurry of the people, they did not move at all, but contented themselves

with preferving the castle.

As foon as day appeared, the exiles from Attica came in armed, and there was a general affembly of the people. Epaminondas and Gorgidas brought forth Pelopidas and his party, encompassed by the priefts, who carried garlands in their hands, and exhorted the people to fight for their gods and their country. The whole affembly, excited by this appearance, rose up, and with shouts and acclamations received the men as their benefactors and deliverers. Then Pelopidas being appointed governor of Bœotia, together with Melon and Charon, immediately blocked up, and attacked the castle, thinking it of great importance to drive out the Lacedæmonians, and get possession of it, before any fuccours could arrive from Sparta. And indeed he was beforehand with them but a very little while; for the Lacedæmonians had scarce surrendered the place, and were, according to the capitulation, returning home, when they met Cleombrotus at Megara, marching towards Thebes with a powerful army. The Spartans called the three chief commanders, who figned that capitulation, to an account; Hermippidas and Arciffus were executed for it; and Lyfanoridas the third, was fined fo feverely, that, being unable to pay the fum, he was forced

to fly his country.

This action being fo like that of Thrafybulus, whether we confider the courage of the actors, or the difficulties that were to be furmounted, and the fuccefs that attended it, was for that reason called its fifter by the Greeks. For it would be difficult to give another instance of persons so few in number, who by their bravery and conduct overcame fo powerful an opposition, and procured such signal advantages to their country. But this action was rendered still more glorious by that change of affairs which followed upon it. For that war, which humbled the pride of the Spartans, and deprived them of their empire both by sea and land, was the effect of that night's enterprise, when Pelopidas, without taking castle, fortification, or town, but being only one out of twelve who entered a private house, loosened and broke to pieces (if we may express truth by a metaphor) the chains of the Spartan government, till then thought indiffoluble.

Not long after this the Lacedæmonians entered Bæotia with a powerful army; which so terrified the Athenians, that they renounced all alliance with the Thebans, and judicially prosecuted all that continued in their interest; some they put to death, others they banished, and others they fined severely. Thus the affairs of the Thebans, they having no friend or ally, seemed at that time to be in a very desperate condition. But Pelopidas and Gorgidas being then governors of Bæotia, consulted together how to breed a fresh quarrel between the Athenians and Spartans; and this was their contrivance. There was a certain Spartan named Sphodrias, a

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man of great courage, but of no found judgments and whose mind was always always full of vain and ambitious projects. This man had been left at Thespia with a body of troops to receive and protect fuch Eccotians as should defert the interest of their country, and go over to the Spartans. To him Pelopidas fent money fecretly by a merchant who was his friend, and at the fame time fuch advice as was most proper to flatter his vanity, and would be more perfuasive than money, That he ought to undertake some noble enterprise, and making a sudden incursion on the unprovided Athenians, surprise the Piræus; that nothing could be fo agreeable to the Spartans, as to be masters of Athens; and that the Thebans hating the Athenians, as they now did, and looking upon them as traitors, would be fure to give them no manner of affiftance. Perfuaded by this meffage, Sphodrias marched with his army by night, entered Attica in a hostile manner, and advanced as far as Eleusis; but then his foldiers hearts began to fail +; and finding his design was discovered, he thought fit to return to Theipiæ, after having by this action brought upon the Lacedæmonians a long and dangerous war 1: for immediately upon this, the Athenians made a new alliance with the Thebans, and affifted them with all their power; and fitting out a large fleet failed to feveral places, receiving and engaging all the Greeks that were inclined to shake off the Spartan yoke. Montepast vodi tarii

In the mean time, the Thebans having frequent skirmishes with the Spartans in Poetia, and after fighting some battles (not great indeed, but fit to train them up, and instruct them), their spirits were raised, and their bodies inured to labour, and they got both experience and courage by those frequent encounters. Insomuch that Antalcidas is reported to have said to Agesilaus, when he was brought home wounded from Boetia, You are now paid for the instruction you have given the Thebans, and for teach.

ing them the art of war against their will. Though, to speak properly, Agesilaus was not their master, but those wise commanders who led them with prudence to battle; and when they saw a sit opportunity, let them loose, like stanch hounds, upon the enemy; and when they had tasted the sweets of victory, by which their appetites were sharpened, took them off again safe and unhurt. But of all those leaders, Pelopidas deserves most honour; for from the time of his being sirst chosen general, till his death, he was never one year out of employment, but was constantly either captain of the facred band,

or governor of Bœotia.

The Lacedæmonians were feveral times worsted by the Thebans; particularly at Platea and Thefpiæ, where Phæbidas, who had furprifed the Cadmea, was killed; and at Tanagra, where Pelopidas flew their chief commander, whose name was Panthoides, with his own hand. But this feries of fuccefs, though it ferved to animate and encourage the victors, did not quite dishearten the vanquished: for there was no considerable or pitched battle, but only incursions made occasionally, inwhich fometimes purfuing, and fometimes retreating, the Thebans had the advantage. But the battle of Tegyræ, which was a fort of prelude to that of Leuctra, raifed Pelopidas's reputation very high; for none of the other commanders had any claim to share with him in the honour of the day, nor had the enemy any pretext by which they could alleviate the shame of the defeat...

He kept a strict eye over the city of Orchomenus, which had sided with the Spartans, and taken two companies of foot for its garrison; and at length he found an opportunity to make himself master of it. For having one day received intelligence that the garrison was marched out to make an incursion into Locris, he hastened thither with his forces, consisting of the sacred battalion, and

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fome horse, hoping to find the place defenceless; but when he came near the city, understanding that a body of troops were on their march from Sparta to reinforce the garrison, he retreated with his army by Tegyræ along the fides of the mountains, which was the only way he could possibly pass; for all the flat country was overflowed by the river Melas, which, as foon as it rifes, fpreads itself into marshes, and navigable pools, making all the lower roads impaffable. A little below these marshes stands the temple of Apollo Tegyræus, whose oracle has not been long filent; it was in its highest credit during the wars with the Medes, when Echecrates was high prieft. Here they report that Apollo was born. The neighbouring mountain is called Delos; and at the foot of it the river Melas comes again into a channel. Behind the templerife two copious fprings, admired for the fweetness: and coolness of the water: one of them is still called the palm, the other the olive; fo that Latona feems to have been delivered not between two trees, but between two fountains. Near this place is Mount Proum, where they fay she was affrighted at the appearance of a wild boar. The stories of Python and Tityus who were flain there, feem likewife to favour their opinion who make it the place where Apollo was born. I omit many other circumstances, made use of to support this opinion; since ancient tradition does not rank him in the number of those gods who were born mortal, and having afterwards divefted themselves of this frail and corruptible nature were transformed into gods, as Hercules and Bacchus; but he is one of the eternal deities who never were born as mortals are, if we may credit those ancient sages who have treated of the nature of the gods.

As the Thebans returned from Orchomenus, by Tegyræ, the Spartans marching at the fame time from Locris, met them upon the road. As foon as

they

they had passed the straits, and were in view, one ran in all haste to Pelopidas, and told him, We are fallen into the enemy's bands: And wby, faid he, not they into ours? At the same time he commanded his horse that were in the rear, to advance and begin the attack. His foot, which were no more than 300 men, he drew into a close body, not doubting but that, where-ever they pressed, they would break through the enemy, though superior in number. The Spartans had divided their infantry into two battalions; each confifted, as Ephorus reports, of 500, Callifthenes fays 700, but Polybius and others 900. Gorgoleon and Theopompus, their generals, led them on to the charge with great bravery. The flock began where the commanders fought in person on both sides, and was very violent and furious; the Spartan generals, who preffed hard upon Pelopidas, fell first, and all who were near them were either killed, or put to flight: thereupon the whole army was fo terrified, that they opened a lane for the Thebans, through which they might have passed fafely, and continued their march, if they had pleased; but Pelopidas disdaining to accept of this opportunity to make his escape, marched against those who still kept their ground, and made fuch a terrible flaughter among them, that they were entirely routed, and ran away in great confusion. The Thebans did not pursue them very far, for fear of the Orchomenians, who were near the place of battle, and of the reinforcement from Lacedamon. They fatisfied themselves with the advantage they had already gained, and with making an honourable retreat through the midst of a dispersed and defeated army.

After they had erected a trophy, and gathered the spoils of the slain, they returned home greatly elated at their success: for in all their former wars, whether against Greeks or Barbarians, the Spartans were never before beaten by a smaller, nor e-

ven by an equal number. Thus their courage feemed irrefiftible, and so high was their reputation in war, that it intimidated their enemies, who were afraid to venture an engagement with them on e-

qual terms.

This battle first taught the Greeks, that neither the Eurotas, nor the country that lies between Babyce and Cnacion, breeds martial spirits and bold warriors, but that where-ever the youth are ashamed of what is base, are resolutely virtuous, and fear dishonour more than danger, there will be found the men who are most terrible to their enemies.

Gorgidas, as some report, first formed the facred band, consisting of 300 select men, to whom (being a guard for the castle) the city allowed provision, and all things necessary for exercising them; and they were called the city-band, for castles, in those days, were called cities. Others pretend that it was composed of lovers and their beloved; and there is related a pleasant observation of Pammenes, to this purpose. He said that Homer's Nestor was not well skilled in ordering an army, when he bid the Greeks,

## Each tribe and family together join.

That he should have joined lovers, and their belowed: for men of the same tribe or family little value one another when dangers press; but a band cemented by friendship and love, is invincible; since the lovers, ashamed to appear mean in the sight of their beloved, and the beloved before their lovers, willingly rush into danger for the relief of one another; nor is this at all strange, since they have more regard for their absent lovers, than for any others, though present. An instance of which that man gave, who when he was fallen down, and his enemy was ready to kill him, earnestly requested him to run him through the breast, that his lover might

not blush to see him wounded in the back. Thus it is faid of Iolaus, who was beloved by Hercules, that he accompanied that hero in all his labours, and never deferted him in the greatest danger. Hence arose the custom for lovers to swear inviolable faith and affection at Iolaus's tomb, which Aristotle affures us, continued in his time. It is very probable therefore that this band was called facred, on the fame account that Plato styles a lover, a divinely-inspired friend. It is said, that this band remained invincible till the battle of Chæronea; and when Philip after the fight, as he was taking a view of the flain, came to the place where the 300 lay dead together, all fallen upon their breafts, as having furiously rushed upon the Macedonian spears! he stood still and wondered; and being told that it was the band of lovers, he wept, and faid, May a curse light on those who can suspect that these men could ever do or suffer a shameful thing,

In short, it is certain, that it was not, as the poets fay, the criminal passion of Laïus that introduced among the Thebans this love of young men; but their legislators themselves established it: for being desirous to soften and moderate even from their infancy the natural fierceness and impetuosity of the youth, they brought the flute into vogue, and used it on all ferious occasions as well as in their amusements; and encouraged in them that noble principle of love in their places of public exercise, that they might thereby temper the violence and ferocity of their dispositions. And therefore Harmony, the daughter of Mars and Venus, was very justly chosen to be the tutelar goddess of their city, thereby to fignify, that wherefoever valour and ftrength are mixed with attractive graces and the arts of perfusion, there must always be the most perfect and best regulated government; fince every thing there obeys the laws of harmony, and a star boards

Gorgidas, who first raised the facred band, di-

vided the men of which it was composed in all engagements, and disposed them up and down in the first ranks of his infantry, which made their courage lefs conspicuous; and they were in effect weakened whilft they fought in separate parties, and were mingled with others more in number, and of inferior refolution. But Pelopidas, who had made proof of their bravery at the battle of Tegyræ, where they fought together, never afterwards divided them, but keeping them always entire as one body, he constantly charged at the head of them in the most difficult and dangerous attacks. For as horses when harnessed together in a chariot, go on with greater spirit and alacrity, than when they are driven fingle and alone, not because the air is more eafily divided by their united effort, but because their courage is heightened by emulation; fo Pelopidas thought that brave men, by striving to excel each other in valour and the pursuit of glory, would be more useful, and fight with greater resolution together than apart.

When the Lacedæmonians had made peace with all the other Greeks, and continued the war against the Thebans only, and when King Cleombrotus had entered their country with an army of 10,000 foot and 1000 horse, they saw themselves in danger not only of losing their liberty as before, but seemed to be threatened with a total extirpation; which spread the utmost terror over all Boeotia. When Pelopidas was ready to depart for the army, and his wife following him to the door earnestly befought him with tears in her eyes to take care of himself, he replied, Private men are to be advised to take care of themselves, and generals to take care of o-

thers.

When he came to the army, and found the general officers differing in opinion, he was the first that joined with Epaminondas, who advised to give the enemy battle. He was not at that time commander in chief.

chief, but captain of the facred band; and the Thebans had great confidence in him, as it was reasonable they should, after he had given such proofs

of his zeal for the liberty of his country.

A resolution being then taken to fight, and both armies lying before Leuctra, Pelopidas had a dream which very much discomposed him. In the plain of Leuctra were buried the bodies of the daughters of Scedafus, called from the place Leuctrides. For they having been ravished by some Spartans whom they had entertained as guests, and being unable to furvive the difgrace, killed themfelves, and were interred there. Their father went to Lacedæmon to demand fatisfaction for fo detestable and impious an action; but being unable to obtain it, after uttering dreadful imprecations against the Spartans, he killed himfelf at his daughters tombs. From that time many prophecies and oracles forewarned the Spartans to beware of the divine vengeance at Leuctra: but these menaces were not understood, neither was the place certainly known; because there was a town in Laconia by the fea-fide called Leuctrum, and another of the same name near Megalopolis, in Arcadia; besides, the crime was committed long before this battle. As Pelopidas was asleep in his tent, he thought he saw the maids weeping at their tombs, and loading the Spartans with imprecations; and at the fame time their father Scedafus commanded him to facrifice a young red-baired virgin to his daughters, if he defired to gain the victory. Pelopidas looking on this as a harsh and impious injunction, rose, and told it to the soothsayers and commanders of the army. Some were of opinion that this order was not to be neglected or disobeyed; alleging for examples the ancient histories of Menœceus the fon of Creon, and of Macaria the daughter of Hercules; and others more modern. as that of Pherecydes the philosopher, who was put to death by the Lacedæmonians, and whose skin.

at the oracle's command, was still carefully kept by the kings of Sparta; that of Leonidas, who, in obedience to the oracle, did in a manner facrifice himself for the safety of Greece; and lastly that of Themistocles, who, before the battle of Salamin, facrificed three prisoners to Bacchus furnamed Ome-Aes: all which facrifices were justified by the fuccefs. They faid further, that Agefilaus marching from the same place, and against the same enemies that Agamemnon did before, was commanded one night as he lay at Aulis to facrifice his daughter to the goddess Diana; but, out of his extreme tenderness for her, he refused it; and so his expedition proved unfuccefsful. Others, on the contrary, infifted that fo barbarous and unjust an oblation could not be acceptable to any fuperior beings; that the Typhons and the giants did not prefide over the world, but the Father of gods and men; that it was abfurd to suppose that the gods took delight in human facrifices; and if any of them did, they were to be neglected as vitious and impotent beings; for fuch strange and corrupt defires could exist only in weak and depraved minds.

The generals thus differing in opinion, and Pelo. pidas being very much at a loss how to determine, on a fudden a wild she-colt that had broke out of the ftud, ran through the camp, and when she came near the place where they were, stood still. Whilst some admired the sparkling redness of her mane, the stateliness of her form and motions, and the spirit and vigour of her neighings, Theocritus the diviner having confidered the matter, cried out to Pelopidas; Behold there the victim that comes to offer itself; wait thou for no other virgin, but sacrifice that which the gods have fent thee. Whereupon they feized the colt, brought her to the tombs of the Leuctrides, and there offered her up with the usual prayers and ceremonies, teftifying their joy, and publishing throughout the army an account of Pelopidas's vi-

fion,

Son, and the facrifice which had been required of

The day of battle being come, Epaminondas drew up his left wing in an oblique battalion, that the right wing of the Spartans being obliged to divide from the other Greeks, their allies, he might be able to break through them with the greater eafe, and prefs the harder upon Cleombrotus who commanded them; but the enemy perceiving his defign, changed the disposition of their army, and began to extend their right wing further out, with a defign to encompass Epaminondas. But Pelopidas came brifkly up before Cleombrotus could open and close his division, and at the head of his facred band fell upon the difordered Spartans. The Lacedæmonians were the most expert of all the Greeks in the art of war; and were trained up, and accustomed to nothing so much as to keep themselves from confusion and to preserve their ranks, so that they could always unite their efforts on what part foever the danger pressed. But in this battle Epaminondas, without any regard to the other troops, falling upon the right wing while they were in confusion, and Pelopidas at the fame time coming up at the head of his 300 men with incredible speed and bravery, baffled all their art and resolution, and caufed fuch a rout and flaughter among the Lacedæmonians, as had never been known before. So that Pelopidas, who only commanded the facred band, gained as much honour by this day's victory, as Epaminondas, who was governor of Bœotia, and commander in chief of the whole army.

Soon after this, being joint governors of Bœotia, they marched into Peloponnefus, where they made feveral cities revolt from the Lacedæmonians, and recovered from them Elis, Argos, all Arcadia, and the greatest part even of Laconia. It was now the very depth of winter, near the latter end of the last month in the year, when the time of their office

was very nigh expired; for on the first day of the next month new governors were of course to succeed, and those who refused to deliver up their

charge were punishable with death.

The rest of their colleagues for fear of this law, and to avoid the inclemency of the feafon, were for marching back with all speed to Thebes: but Pelopidas joined with Epaminondas, and encouraging his fellow-citizens, led them against Sparta, and passing the Eurotas, took several of their towns, and ravaged the whole country quite to the feacoast, at the head of an army of above 70,000 men. of which the Thebans did not make the twelfth part. But the high reputation of those two great men made all the allies without any public decree or agreement filently follow and obey them. For the first and supreme law, that of nature, seems to direct, that when men stand in need of protection, he should be their chief, who is best able to defend And as mariners, though in a calm, or in port, they appear infolent, and brave the pilot, yet as foon as a ftorm begins to arife, and danger appears, fix their eyes on him, and rely wholly on his skill; fo the Argives, the Eleans, and the Arcadians in their confultations would contend with the Thebans for superiority of command; but whenever they were obliged to fight, or faw any danger at hand, they all submitted to the Theban generals, and readily obeyed their orders.

In this expedition they united all Arcadia into one body, and driving out the Spartans who inhabited Meffenia, called home its ancient inhabitants, and repeopled Ithome. And in their return home through Cenchrea, they defeated the Athenians, who had attacked them in the narrow ways, with a defign to hinder their paffage. These exploits made all the other people of Greece applaud their valour, and admire their success: but the envy of their fellow-citizens increasing in propor-

tion

tion to their glory, prepared such a reception for them at their return, as their signal services to their country had very ill deserved; for they were both tried capitally for not laying down their command at the beginning of the month called *Boucation*, and continuing to hold it four months longer, contrary to law; during which time they performed those great actions in Messenia, Arcadia, and Laconia.

Pelopidas was tried first, and therefore was in most danger; but at last they were both acquitted. Epaminondas bore the accusation and trial very patiently, esteeming it a principal part of fortitude and magnanimity not to resent the injuries of his fellowicitizens. But Pelopidas being naturally of a warmer temper, and excited by his friends to revenge

the affront, took this occasion.

Meneclides, the orator, was one of those who were concerned with Melon and Pelopidas in the combination at Charon's house. He finding himfelf less considered by the Thebans than the rest of the conspirators, (for though he was very eloquent, he was profligate and malicious), employed his talents to accuse and calumniate his betters; and this he continued to do with regard to Pelopidas and Epaminondas, even after judgment was paffed in their favour. He succeeded so far as to deprive Epaminondas of the government of Recotia, and for a long time opposed and obstructed him in every thing he attempted. But being unable by all his artifices to rob Pelopidas of the people's favour, he endeavoured to create a mifunderstanding between him and Charon; for it is some comfort and relief to an envious person, when he is unable to excel those he envies, to make them be thought at least inferior to those he has a mind to extol. For this reason he was continually haranguing to the people on the noble exploits of Charon, which he amplified as much as possible, and made frequent panegyrics on his great victories and expedi-

tions; and he endeavoured to perpetuate by fome public monument the memory of the battle won by their cavalry under Charon's command at Platææ, a little before the battle of Leuctra; the method he proposed was this. Androcydes of Cyzicus had begun a picture of some other battle for the Thebans, which he worked at in the city of Thebes; but when the revolt began, and the war came on, he was obliged to leave the city; however, the Thebans kept the picture, which was very nigh frnished. Meneclides endeavoured to perfuade the people to hang this picture in some temple, or public place, with an infcription fignifying it to be one of Charon's battles, hoping by that means to obfcure the glory of Pelopidas and Epaminondas. But it was a ridiculous and fenfeless ambition to prefer one fingle engagement, wherein nothing confiderable was achieved, and no more flain on the Spartan fide than one Gerandas, an obscure citizen, and forty more, to fo many great and noble victories. Pelopidas opposed this motion, affirming it to be contrary to law, and infifting that it had never been the custom of the Thebans to honour any private person on account of any public succefs, but to attribute the whole glory of all their victories to their country. During this whole proceeding he highly extolled Charon, but at the fame time made it plainly appear that Mencelides was a turbulent and envious man, and often asked the Thebans, if they had never before done any thing that was great and excellent. The Thebans hereupon laid a heavy fine on Meneclides, which he being unable to pay, nsed his utmost endeavours ever after to difturb and overturn the government. An account of fuch particulars is of use to give us an infight into the lives and characters of men.

At that time Alexander the tyrant of Pheræ made open war against several parts of Thessay, and had entertained a secret design to subdue the

whole:

whole; whereupon the cities fent ambaffadors to Thebes, to beg the affistance of some troops and a general. Pelopidas knowing that Epaminondas was detained by the Peloponnesian war, offered himfelf to command in Theffaly, being loath that the skill he had acquired in military affairs should lie useless, and well knowing that where-ever Epaminondas commanded, there was no need of any other general. He therefore marched with an army into Thessaly, where he soon reduced the city of Larissa; and when Alexander came to him in a fubmissive manner, he endeavoured to reform him, and instead of a tyrant, to render him a just and merciful prince; but finding him incorrigible and brutal, and receiving daily complaints of his cruelty, lewdnefs, and avarice, he began to treat him with fome feverity; upon which the tyrant made his escape privately with his guards. Pelopidas having thus fecured the Theffalians from all danger of tyranny, and left them in a good underflanding among themselves, marched for Macedonia, where Ptolemy was making war against Alexander the king of Macedon; and whither he had been invited by those two brothers, to decide their disputes, and affist him who should appear to be injured. Pelopidas, immediately upon his arrival, put an end to all their differences. and recalled all fuch as had been banished; and taking with him Philip, Alexander's brother, and thirty youths of the chief families in Macedonia for hostages, he brought them to Thebes; shewing the Grecians what authority the Thebans had gained abroad by the reputation of their arms, and the good opinion every where conceived of their justice and integrity. This was that Philip who many years after made war against Greece, with a defign to conquer and enflave it. He was then a boy, and was brought up at Thebes with one Pammenes. Hence it was believed, that he pro-G 3 posed

posed Epaminondas as his pattern, and that it was from him he learned his military skill and activity, which were the least parts of that great man's excellencies; but of his temperance, his justice, his magnanimity, and his clemency, which made him truly great, Philip possessed no share at all, either from nature or imitation.

The year following, the Thessalians preserved a second complaint against Alexander the Pherean, for disturbing their peace, and forming designs upon their cities. Pelopidas and Ismenias were sent joint ambassadors thither; but having no expectation of a war, they brought no troops with them from Thebes, so that things taking a contrary turn to what they expected, they were compelled to make use of Thessalians.

At the fame time there were fresh commotions in Macedonia, Ptolemy had murdered Alexander, and feized his kingdom. The deceafed King's friends fent for Pelopidas, and he being willing toespouse their interest, but having no troops of his own at hand, immediately raifed fome mercenaries, with whom he marched against Ptolemy. When they came near one another, Ptolemy found means to corrupt the mercenaries, and bring them over to his fide; but yet fearing the very name and reputation of Pelopidas, he came fubmiffively to him as to a superior, endeavoured to pacify him by entreaties, and folemnly promifed to keep the kingdom for the dead king's brothers, and to efteem the friends and enemies of Thebes as his own; and as fecurity for this, he gave his fon Philoxenus, and fifty of his companions, hostages. I hese Pelopidas fent to Thebes; but refenting the treachery of the mercenaries, and understanding that they had lodged the best part of their effects, together with their wives and children, at Pharfalus, he thought the feizing them would be a fufficient revenge for the injury he had received. Whereupon

he assembled some Thessalian troops, and marched thither. He was no sooner arrived, but Alexander the tyrant appeared before the place with a considerable army. Pelopidas believing that he came thither to justify himself, and answer the complaints that had been made against him, went to him together with Ismenias, without any further precaution; not that they were ignorant of his being wicked and bloody, but they imagined that the power and authority of Thebes, and their own dignity and reputation would protect them from all violence. However, as soon as the tyrant saw them alone, and unarmed, he took them prisoners, and made himself master of Pharsalus.

This action filled the minds of all his fubjects with fears and jealousies; for they thought, that, after so slagrant and daring an injury, he would spare nobody, but behave himself on all occasions, and toward all persons, as one quite desperate, who had thrown off all regard to himself, and his own safety. When the Thebans heard the news of this outrage, they were highly incensed, and immediately sent an army into Thessaly; and Epaminondas happening at that time to lie under their displeasure, they made choice of other generals.

In the mean time, the tyrant brought Pelopidas to Pheræ, and at first permitted every body that would to see him; believing that this disaster would humble his spirit, and abate his courage. But when Pelopidas advised the complaining Phereans to be comforted, assuring them that the tyrant in a short time would meet with the just reward of his crimes, and sent to tell him, that it was absurd daily to torment and put to death so many innocent worthy citizens, and to spare him, who, he very well knew, if ever he escaped out of his hands, would be sure to make him suffer the punishment he had deserved. The tyrant surprised at this boldness and magnanimity, answered, Why is Pelopidas in so much haste to die?

Which being told Pelopidas, he fent him this reply, It is that thou mayst perish so much the sooner, by becoming still more hateful to the gods than thou art.

From that time the tyrant forbade any one to fee or discourse with him. But Thebe his wife, the daughter of Jason, having been informed by his keepers of the great firmness and intrepidity of Pelopidas, had a defire to fee and talk with him. When she came into the prison, she like a woman could not immediately perceive his greatness and dignity amidst such an appearance of distress; but gueffing by the meanness of his attire and provision, that he was treated very unworthily, she fell aweeping. Pelopidas at first not knowing who she was, stood amazed; but when he understood her quality, he addressed her by her father's name, for Iason and he had been intimate friends; and when the faid, I pity your wife; he replied, And I you, who being at liberty can endure Alexander. This faying touched Thebe to the quick; for she was already provoked by the cruelty and infolence of Alexander, who, befide all his other infamous behaviour, had abused her younger brother to his lust. Going therefore often to fee Pelopidas, and complaining freely to him of the outrages she had received, the grew more and more exasperated against her husband.

The Theban generals who came into Thesaly did nothing at all; but either through ill fortune or bad conduct were obliged to make a disadvantageous and dishonourable retreat. The Thebans fined each of them ten thousand drachmas, and sent E-paminondas with an army to repair the dishonour.

The fame and reputation of Epaminondas gave new life and courage to the Thessalians, and occassoned great insurrections among them, so that from that time the tyrant's affairs seemed to be in a very desperate condition; such was the fear that had seized all his officers and friends, so forward were his fubjects to revolt, and so universal was the joy at the prospect of that vengeance that seemed ready to overtake him for all his past crimes.

But Epaminondas preferring the fafety of Pelopidas to his own reputation, and fearing, if he pushed matters to an extremity at first, the tyrant might grow desperate, like a wild beast, and turn all his fury against his prisoner, did not vigorously profecute the war, but hovering still over him with his amy, he managed the tyrant in fuch a manner as neither to lessen his spirit and resolution, nor yet to increase his fierceness and cruelty; for he very well knew his favage disposition, and the little regard he had to reason and justice. He was not ignorant that he had caused some men to be buried alive, and others to be dreffed in bears and boars skins, and then baited them with dogs, or shot at them for his diversion. At Melibea and Scotufa; two cities which were in friendship and alliance with him, he fummoned the people to an affembly, and having furrounded them with his guards, he put them all, young and old, to the fword. He confecrated the spear with which he slew his uncle Polyphron, and having crowned it with garlands, offered facrifice to it as to a god, and gave it the name of Tychon. Seeing a tragedian once act the Troades of Euripides, he went hastily out of the theatre, but fent to tell the actor not to be disturbed, but to go on with his part; for he did not go out from any contempt of him, but because he was ashamed his citizens should see him, who never pitied those he murdered, weep at the sufferings of Hecuba and Andromache.

This cruel tyrant was terrified at the very name

and character of Epaminondas;

And like the craven cock he hung his wings.

He dispatched an embassy in all haste to offer satisfaction; but Epaminondas resused to admit such a man as an ally to the Thebans; he only allowed

him a truce of thirty days; and having recovered Peopidas and Ismenias out of his hands, he march-

ed back with his army.

In the mean time, the Thebans having discovered, that the Spartans and Athenians had fent ambaffadors to conclude a league with the king of Perha, sent Pelopidas on their part; whose established reputation fully evidenced the wisdom of their choice. As foon as he entered the Persian dominions, he was univerfally known and honoured; for the glory he had acquired in the war with the Spartans, did not move flowly or obscurely; but after the fame of the first battle at Leuctra was gone abroad, the report of some new victories continually following, exceedingly increased and spread his reputation. When he arrived at the Persian court, and was feen by the nobles and great officers that waited there, he became the object of their admiration; all of them faying, This is the man who deprived the Lacedæmonians of their empire both by fea and land, and confined Sparta within the bounds of Taygetus and Eurotas; that Sparta, which a little before, under the conduct of Agefilaus, made war against our great monarch, and threatened the kingdoms of Susa and Echatana. This greatly pleafed Artaxerxes, who made it his study to heighten his reputation, by doing him all imaginable honours, on purpose to show, that persons of the most distinguished and illustrious characters made their court, and paid homage to him. But when he had both feen his person, and heard his discourse, which was stronger than that of the Athenian, and plainer than that of the Spartan ambassadors, he conceived a still greater esteem for him; and as kings feldom conceal their inclinations, he made no fecret of the great regard he had for him; and this the other ambaffadors perceived. He feemed indeed to have done Antalcides the Spartan the greatest honour, by fending him a perfumed garland which he himself had worn at an entertainment, But

But though he did not indeed treat Pelopidas after fo familiar and free a manner, the customary prefents which he fent him, were as rich and magnificent as possible; he likewise granted all the demands he made; which were; That the Greeks should be free and independent, that Messen should be repeopled, and that the Thebans should be always reckoned the king's

hereditary friends.

Having received fo favourable an answer, he returned home, without accepting any other of the prefents, than what ferved as a pledge of the king's favour and good-will towards him; and this behaviour of Pelopidas aggravated the reproach which fell on the other ambaffadors. The Athenians tried and executed Timagoras; and indeed if they did it for receiving fo many prefents from the king, their fentence was just and reasonable; for he not only took gold and filver, but a rich bed, and flaves to make it; as if that had been an art unknown to the Greeks. Befide this, he received fourfcore cows, and herdsmen to look after them, as if he wanted milk for some distemper; and last of all, when he left the court, he was carried in a chair as far as the fea-coast, at the king's expense, who paid four talents for his carriage. But it is probable the prefents he received, were not the principal cause of the displeasure of the Athenians; for when Epicrates confessed in a public assembly of the people, that he himself had received presents from the king of Persia, and talked of proposing a decree, that instead of chusing nine archons every year, twelve of the poorest citizens should be fent yearly as ambaffadors to Perfia, to be enriched by the king's prefents, the people only laughed at it. What exafperated the Athenians most, was, that the Thebans had obtained all they defired; in which they laid too little stress on the great reputation of Pelopidas, not confidering that his fame had more weight, than all the oratory of the other ambasiadors.

dors, with a prince who always favoured the most faccessful and victorious.

The affection and esteem of the Thebans for Pelopidas, was not a little increased by this embassy, in which he procured the freedom of Greece and

the re-establishment of Messene.

Alexander, the Pherean tyrant, returning at this time to his natural disposition, had destroyed several cities of Theffaly, and put garrifons into those of the Phthiotæ, the Achæans, and the Magnefians; who hearing that Pelopidas was returned, fent deputies to Thebes, to defire the affiftance of fome forces, and him for their general. The Thebans readily granted their request. But when all things were prepared, and the general was just ready to march, on a fudden the fun was eclipfed, and the whole city of Thebes covered with darkness at midday. Pelopidas seeing the people much surprised at this phænomenon, did not think fit to compel the army to-march while they were in fuch a consternation, nor to hazard the lives of feven thoufand of his fellow-citizens; but committing himfelf wholly to the Theffalians, and taking with him only three hundred horse, composed of Thebans and strangers, who offered themselves as volunteers, he departed, contrary to the opinion of the foothfayers and the rest of the citizens, who endeavoured to hinder him, believing that the eclipfe portended fomething extraordinary, and boded ill to this great man. But Pelopidas, besides being urged by his refentment for the injuries he had received, hoped, from the conversation he formerly had with Thebe, to find great diforders and divifions in the tyrant's own family. But that which excited him most to this undertaking was the glory of the action itself; for his whole aim and ambition was, to let all the Grecians fee, that at the fame time, when the Spartans fent officers and generals to Dionysius the Sicilian tyrant, and the Athenians were kept in pay by Alexander, and had erected a brazen statue in honour of him, as a benefactor, the Thebans were the only people that waged war to succour the distressed, and to exterminate all arbitrary and unjust government out of Greece.

After he had affembled his forces at Pharfalus, he marched against the tyrant; who finding that Pelopidas had but few Thebans, and that his own infantry was more than double the number of the Thessalians, went to meet him as far as the temple of Thetis: and when it was told Pelopidas that the tyrant was advancing towards him with a prodigious army, he said, So much the better, we shall beat so ma-

ny the more.

Near the place called Cynoscephalæ, there were two fteep hills opposite to one another, in the middle of the plain. Both fides strove to get possession of thefe two hills with their foot; and at the fame time Pelopidas ordered his horfe, which were very numerous and good, to charge the enemy's cavalry, which they prefently routed, and purfued over the plain. But Alexander had gained the hills before the Theffalian foot could reach them, and falling fiercely upon such of them as attempted to force those ascents, he killed the foremost of them, and wounded fo many of the fe that followed, that they were obliged to give way. Pelopidas feeing this, called back his horse, and ordered them to attack fuch of the enemy as still kept their ground; and taking his shield in his hand, made what haste he could to join those that fought about the hills; and advancing to the front, filled his men with fuch courage and alacrity, that the enemy imagined they came with other spirits and other bodies to the onfet. They stood two or three charges; but when they found the Thessalian foot still press forward. and perceived the horse returning from the pursuit. they began to give ground. Pelopidas at the fame time viewing, from an afcent, the enemy's arms, maulii

which did not yet in reality fly, but began to fall into diforder, stopped for a while, casting his eyes every way to find out Alexander. As foon as he perceived him in the right wing, rallying and encouraging his mercenaries, he was no longer mafter of himself, but inflamed at the fight, and facrificing both his fafety and his duty as a general to his paffion, he advanced far before his foldiers, crying out, and challenging the tyrant, who did not dare to meet him, but retreating, hid himself amongst his guards. The foremost of the mercenaries that came hand to hand were cut down by Pelopidas. but others fighting at a distance, pierced his armour with their javelins, and mortally wounded him. The Theffalians feeing him in this danger, made hafte from the hills to his affiftance; but when they came to the place where he was, they found him dead upon the ground. At the fame time both horse and foot preffing hard upon the enemy, entirely routed them, purfuing them a great way, and covering the plain with more than three thousand dead bodies. The I hebans who were then prefent, expressed the greatest concern imaginable at Pelopidas's death, calling him their father, faviour, and instructor, in every thing that was great and honourable. And it is no wonder they did fo, when the Theffalians and allies, after they had exceeded, by their edicts in his favour, the greatest honours that are due to human virtues, gave still more undeniable proofs of their love to him by their grief; for the whole army, when they understood he was dead, neither put off their armour, unbridled their horfes. nor dreffed their wounds, but, notwithstanding their heat and fatigue, ran all immediately to him, as if he had been still alive, heaped up the spoils of the enemy about his dead body, and cut off their horses manes, and their own hair; and many of them when they retired to their tents, neither kindled a fire nor took any refreshment; but a general filence,

filence, consternation, and grief reigned throughout the army, as if they had not gained a very great and glorious victory, but had been defeated and en-

flaved by the tyrant.

In all the cities through which his body was carried, the magistrates, young men, children, and priests came out to meet it with trophies, crowns, and golden armour. And when the time of his interment was come, the oldest men among the Theffalians begged the I hebans to allow them to bury him. One of them upon this occasion made the following speech: Friends and allies, we ask a favour of you, which will be a very fingular honour and confolition to us in this great misfortune. It is not Pelopidas alive the Theffalians defire to attend; it is not to Pelopidas, sensible of what is done to him, they destre to pay the honours due to his merit: no; all we ask is the permission to wash, adorn, and inter his dead body; and if we obtain this, we shall then think you are persuaded that we esteem our share in this common calamity greater than yours. You, it is true, have lost an excellent general; but we, with the loss of a general, have lost all hopes of liberty; for how shall we dare to defire another of you, fince we cannot restore Pelopidas?

The Thebans granted their request: and never was a more splendid funeral seen; at least in the opinion of those who do not think that magnificence consists in gold, ivory, and purple, like Philistus, who made a splendid encomium on the funeral of Dionysius the tyrant, which, to speak properly, was only like the pompous catastrophe of that bloody tragedy, his tyranny. Alexander the Great, at the death of Hephæstion, did not only cut off the manes of his horses and mules, but took down the battlements from the walls of cities, that even the towns might seem mourners, and instead of their former beauteous appearance, look dejected at his funeral: but such kinds of pomp and magnisicence not being free and voluntary, but the in-

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junctions of arbitrary power, are attended with en vy towards him in whose honour they are performed, and with hatred against him who commands them, and are far from being proofs of a fincere love and effeem; they only flow the barbarous pride, luxury, and vanity of those who lavish their wealth to fuch vain and contemptible purposes. But that a man of common rank, dying in a strange country, neither his wife, children, nor kinfmen present, none either desiring or ordering it, should be attended, buried, and crowned by fo many cities, that strove to exceed one another in the demonstrations of their love, feems to be the height of happiness. For the observation of Æsop is not true, that death is most unfortunate in the time of prosperity and fuces; on the contrary, it is then most happy, because it secures to good men the glory of their virtuous actions, and advances them above the power of fortune. And that Spartan's advice was better founded, who embracing Diagoras after he himself, his fons, and grandsons had all conquered and been crowned in the Olympic games, faid to him, Die, Diagoras, die quickly, for thou canst not be a god. And yet is there any one that will pretend to compare all the victories in the Pythian and Olympic games, with one of those enterprises of Pelopidas, in all which he was constantly victorious? So that after he had fpent the greatest part of his life in. great and glorious actions, and had been thirteen times named governor of Bœotia, he died at last in a noble attempt to extirpate tyranny, and restore the liberties of Theffaly.

If his death occasioned great grief, it brought greater advantage to the allies; for no sooner were the I hebans advertised of it, but, prompted by a desire of revenge, they immediately sent to their assistance an army of seven thousand soot, and seven brundred horse, under the command of Malcitus and Diogiton, who falling upon Alexander, who

was already much weakened and reduced to great difficulties, compelled him to restore those cities he had taken from the Thessalians, to withdraw his garrisons from the Magnesians, Phthiotæ, and Achæans, and to engage by oath to afford the I hebans at all times whatever affistance they should demand. The I hebans were satisfied with these conditions; but punishment soon followed the tyrant for his wickedness, and the death of Pelopidas was

revenged in this manner.

He, as we mentioned before, had taught Thebe not to respect the exterior show and pomp of tyranny, notwithstanding she was surrounded by the tyrant's guards. the therefore fearing the fallehood, and hating the cruelty of her hutband, conspired with her three brothers; Tisiphonus, Pytholans, and Lycophron, to kill him; and they put their defign in execution after this manner. The whole palace at night was full of guards, except the tyrant's bedchamber, which was an upper room, and the door of this apartment was guarded by a dog who was chained there, and who would fly at all but the tyrant and his wife, and one flave that constantly fed him. When the time appointed was come, Thebe hid her brothers all day in a room hard by; and going alone into Alexander's chamber whilft he was affeep, as she used to do, she came out again in a little time, and commanded the flave to lead away the dog, faying her husband had a mind to fleep without being disturbed; and that the stairs might make no noise as her brothers came up, she covered them with wool. All things being thus prepared, she fetched up her brothers foftly; and, leaving them at the door with poniards in their hands, went into the chamber, and prefently returned with the tyrant's fword that hung at the head of his bed, and showed it them as a proof that he was fast asleep. Being now upon the point of execution, the young men appeared terrified, and

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durst not proceed; which so enraged Thebe, that the reproached them for their cowardice, and with oaths declared she would go and awake the tyrant, and discover their whole plot. When shame and fear had brought them to themselves again, and they had refumed their former resolution, she led them into the chamber, and, with a light in her hand, conducted them to her husband's bed. One of them caught him fast by his feet, another by the hair of his head, while the third stabbed him with his poniard. His death may perhaps be thought too quick and easy for so cruel and detestable a monster: but if it be considered that he was the first tyrant that ever fell by the contrivance of his own wife, and that his dead body was exposed to all kind of indignities, and spurned and trodden under foot by his own fubjects, his punishment will appear adequate to his innumerable oppressions and cruelties.

THE

## L I F E

OF

## ARISTIDES.

A Riftides, the fon of Lysimachus, was of the tribe of Antiochis, and ward of Alopece. Concerning his estate, authors are not agreed. Some affirm that he was always very poor, and that he left two daughters behind him, who remained a long time unmarried by reason of their poverty. But Demetrius the Phalerean contradicts this general opinion in his Socrates, and affirms, that he knew a farm at Phalera, that went by Aristides's name, where he was buried; and to show the wealthy condition of his family, he produces three proofs. The first is the office of that Archon, by whose name the year was distinguished, and which fell to him by lot; to which office none were admitted but fuch as, by the valuation of their estates, appeared to be of the greatest eminence, and who having an income of five hundred measures of corn, or some other produce, were called Pentacosiomedimnoi. The fecond proof is the oftracism, which was never inflicted on the meaner fort, but only upon persons of quality and distinction, whose grandeur and authority exposed them to the envy of the people. The third and last proof is taken from the tripods which Ariftides dedicated in the temple of Bacchus, as offerings for his victory at the public games, and which continue there to this day, with this inscription on them, The tribe Antiochis obtained the victory, Aristides destrayed the charges, and Archestratus's play was acted.

But this last proof, though in appearance the strongest of all, is, in reality, very weak: for Epaminondas, who, as every one knows, lived and died poor, and Plato the philosopher, exhibited very expensive shows; the former defraying the charge of a concert of flutes at Thebes, and the latter of an entertainment of finging performed by boys at Athens; Dion having supplied Plato, and Pelopidas Epaminondas with what money was neceffary for that purpose: for good men have not fworn an irreconcileable enmity to the prefents of their friends; they look indeed upon those that are taken to be hoarded, and with an avaricious intention, as vile and dishonourable, but refuse them not when honour and reputation may be ferved by them without any fuspicion of avarice.

As to the tripod in the temple of Bacchus, Panætius shows plainly that Demetrius was deceived by the fimilitude of names: for, from the time of the Median to the end of the Peloponnesian war, there are upon record only two of the name of Ariftides who carried the prize at the shows they exhibited, neither of which was the fon of Lyfimachus; for the first of the two was the son of Xenophilus, and the latter lived long after, as appears from the characters, which were not in use till after Euclid's time, and likewise from the name of the poet Archestratus, which is not to be found in any record or author, during the wars with the Medes; whereas it appears, that a poet of that name had feveral plays acted in the time of the Peloponnesian war, But this argument of Panætius's ought to be more

thoroughly examined.

As for the oftracism, it is very certain that it fell indifferently upon all that were any way distinguished by birth, reputation, or eloquence; so that even

Damon, preceptor to Pericles, was banished by it on account of his extraordinary abilities. And further, Idomeneus says, that Aristides did not obtain the office of Archon by lot, but by the choice of the people. And indeed, if this happened after the battle of Platæe, as the same Demetrius writes, it is highly probable, that having gained such renown by his achievements, he was called to this high office for his virtue, though it was conferred upon others, on account of their wealth. But it is plain, that Demetrius was resolved to free Socrates, as well as Aristides, from the charge of poverty, as if it were a crime or reproach to be poor; since he affirms, that the former, besides a house of his own, had seventy minæ at interest with Crito.

Aristides had an intimate friendship with Clifthenes, who fettled the government of the commonwealth after the expulsion of the tyrants. He had a particular veneration and esteem for Lycurgus the Spartan, above all other legislators; and thence he came to be a favourer of aristocracy, wherein he was always opposed by Themistocles, who was zealous for a popular government. Some authors write indeed, that being bred up together from their infancy, when they were boys they were always at variance, not only in serious matters, but even at their sports and diversions; and that the difference of their tempers was discovered very early by this continual opposition; the one being compliant, daring, artful, and fubtle to compais his ends, variable and inconstant, but eager and impetuous in his purfuits; whereas the other was firm and fleady in his behaviour, immoveable in every thing that appeared just, and incapable of using the least falschood, flattery, disguise, or deceit, so much as in jest. But Aristo of Chios writes, that their enmity took its rife from love, and from thence grew to fo great a height; for being both enamoured of Stefileus of the island of Ceos, the nost ni opôlici

most beautiful youth of his time, they were unable to restrain their passion within bounds, but conceived such a jealousy and hatred of each other as survived the beauty of the boy; and as if this had been an exercise to prepare them for suture quarrels, they soon after entered upon the administration of public affairs, heated and exasperated by their former animosity.

As for Themistocles, by his management at first, and by gaining friends, he strengthened himself with a considerable interest and authority; so that to one, who told him, he would govern the Athenians admirably, provided he would take care to avoid partiality; he replied, May I never sit on a tribunal where my friends will not meet with more favour and re-

spell than strangers.

On the contrary, Ariftides was very particular in his manner of governing: for, first of all, he would never do the least injustice to oblige his friends, nor yet disoblige them by denying all they asked, and refusing to grant the least and most inconfiderable favour: and in the next place, observing that most rulers, relying on the power of their friends, are led to abuse their authority, and be guilty of injustice, he guarded carefully against it; for it was his opinion, that a good citizen ought to make his whole strength and security consist in advifing and doing always what is just and fit to be done. In the mean time, Themistocles made feveral rash attempts, opposing him in all his designs, and breaking all his measures; which put him under a necessity of thwarting Themistocles in whatever he proposed, as well in his own defence, and by way of retaliation, as to put a stop to his growing power, which increased daily through the favour of the people. For he thought it better to obstruct some things that might even be advantageous to the public, than to fuffer Themistocles to become absolute. Once when Themistocles had

proposed an affair of great importance and advantage, Aristides opposed it strenuously, and with fuccess; but as he went out of the affembly, he could not forbear faying aloud, That the Athenians would never be fafe till they threw I hemistocles and himfelf into the Barathrum. Another time he proposed fomething to the people which met with great opposition; however at last he prevailed; notwithflanding which, just as the prefident was going to put it to the question, he let the matter drop of his own accord, having been convinced, by the preceding debates, of the inconveniencies that would attend it. He likewise proposed his sentiments very often by a second or third hand, for fear Themistocles, out of envy and hatred to him, might oppose what would be for the good of the public.

But what was much to be admired in him, was his conftancy and firmness in those sudden and unexpected changes, to which perfons concerned in the high affairs of state are always liable. For he was never elated by any honours he received, nor dejected by the disappointments he met with, but was always ferene and eafy; it being his fixed opinion, that a man ought to be entirely at his country's command, and ready to ferve it on all occasions, without the least prospect of honour or prosit. For this reason, when the play of Æschylus, entitled The seven leaders against Thebes, was acted, at the speaking of these verses made by the poet in praise

of Amphiaraus,

For worth he wishes, but he scorns the show; Fair virtue's meed his virtue can bestow; From his own mind he reaps celeftial fruit, Where wisdom bids spontaneous harvests shoot.

the eyes of all the audience were turned upon Aristides, as the person to whom this great encomium was most applicable. For he had so strong an inclination to justice, as not to be influenced against it by favour or friendship, nor even by enmity and resentment. Accordingly it is reported of him, that when he was prosecuting one that had injured him, after he had finished his accusation, finding that the judges were going to pass sentence without hearing the person accused, he rose from his seat, and seconded the request of his adversary, who desired to be heard, and not to be denied the benefit of the law.

Another time fitting as judge in a cause between two private persons, when one of them said that his adversary had done Aristides many injuries, he interrupted him, saying, Friend, tell me only what injuries he has done to thee; for it is thy cause, and not mine,

which I fit to judge.

Being chosen public treasurer, he soon made it appear that not only those of his time, but the preceding officers, had applied great sums of the public money to their own use, and particularly Themistocles;

For he, though wife, could ne'er command his hands.

For which reason, when Aristides was to give in his accounts, Themistocles raised a strong party against him, accused him of misapplying the public money, and procured his condemnation, as Idomeneus writes: but the chief and best men of the city opposing so unjust a sentence, he was not only acquitted of the fine imposed on him, but likewise appointed treasurer for the following year. Whereupon, pretending to disapprove of his former conduct, he made himfelf acceptable to fuch as robbed the public, by being less rigorous in examining their accounts and exposing their frauds; fo that they gave him the highest commendations, and made interest with the people to continue him in his office another year. But on the day of election, as the Athenians were just going unanimously to appoint him again, he rebuked them feverely, faying,

faying, When I discharged my office faithfully and honourably, I was reviled and disgraced; but now, when
I have suffered your treasure to be plundered by these public robbers, I am admired and applauded as the best of
citizens. I am therefore more ashamed of the honour done
me to-day, than of the sentence passed against me last year;
and it is with indignation and concern that I see you
esteem it more meritorious to oblige ill men, than faithfully to manage the public revenue. By speaking thus,
and discovering their frauds, he stopped the
mouths of all those robbers of the public, who
were at the very same time extolling him, and giving ample testimony in his behalf, and likewise
gained the just and real applause of all good men.

When Datis, who was fent by the King of Perfia, under pretence of revenging on the Athenians their burning of Sardis, but in reality to conquer all Greece, arrived with his fleet at Marathon, and began to plunder and ravage all the neighbouring country, the Athenians appointed ten generals to command in this war, of whom Miltiades was the chief; and the next to him in reputation and authority was Aristides. In a council of war that was held, Miltiades declared for giving the enemy battle, and Aristides seconding his opinion contributed not a little to their coming to that refolution. And as these generals had the chief command by turns, when the day came that gave Aristides the command, he refigned it to Miltiades, thereby showing the rest of the commanders, that it was in no respect inglorious to follow the direction of the wifest men; but, on the contrary, very honourable and advantageous. By this means he prevented all jealoufy and contention, made them fenfible of their happiness in being guided by a person of the best experience, and confirmed Miltiades in an absolute and undivided command of the army, the other generals no longer minding when it came to their turn, but fubmitting, in every thing, entirely to his orders.

In this battle the main body of the Athenian army being hard pressed, and suffering much, because the Barbarians made their greatest efforts there for a long time against the tribes Leontis and Antiochis, Themistocles and Aristides, who belonged to these tribes, and fought together at the head of them, opposed the enemy with such vigour and resolution, that they were put to slight, and driven back to their ships. But the Greeks perceiving, that, instead of failing towards the isles in order to return to Asia, the Barbarians were forced in by the winds and currents towards Attica; and fearing lest they should surprise the city unprovided for a defence, they hastened to its assistance with nine tribes, and marched with such expedition,

that they arrived there the same day.

Aristides being left with his tribe at Marathon to guard the prisoners and booty, fully answered the good opinion that had been conceived of him: for though there was much gold and filver in feveral parts of the camp, and all the tents and ships they had taken, were full of fumptuous apparel, furniture, and riches of all forts; yet he forbore touching any thing himfelf, and did all he could to hinder every one elfe from meddling with any part of it. But, notwithstanding his strict orders, there were fome who enriched themselves unknown to him; among whom was Callias the torch-bearer. One of the Barbarians meeting him privately, and probably taking him for a King on account of his long hair, and the fillet about his head, fell on his knees before him, and taking him by the hand, discovered to him a great quantity of gold that was hid in the bottom of a well. But Callias showed himself on this occasion the most cruel and unjust of men; for, not fatisfied with the whole treasure. he killed the poor wretch upon the fpot, to prevent his discovering it to others. From thence it is faid, the comic poets called his family Laccopluti, [enriched

remriched by the well, jesting on the place from whence their founder derived his wealth. Soon after this battle Aristides was chosen first Archon, or the Archon from whence the year takes its name; though Demetrius Phalereus assures us, that he never enjoyed that office till after the battle of Platææ, a little before his death; but if we consult the public registers, we shall no where find Aristides's name in the list of Archons after Xanthippides, in the time of whose archonship Mardonius was defeated at Platææ, whereas his name may be seen upon record immediately after Phanippus, who was Archon that year the battle of Ma-

rathon was fought.

Of all Ariftides's virtues, the best known, and that by which he was most distinguished, was his justice, as being of most constant use, and of the greatest extent. Thence, from being a person of mean fortune and birth, he acquired the most royal and divine appellation of Just, a title kings and tyrants were never fond of. They rather chuse to be flyled Poliorcetes, [takers of cities], Cerauni, [thunderbolts]; Nicanors, [conquerors.] Nay fome have been pleased with the appellation of Eagles and Vultures, preferring the fame of power to that of virtue. Whereas the Deity himself, to whom they are fond of being compared, feems to be distinguished only by three things, immortality, power, and virtue; of which virtue is without difpute the most venerable and divine: for space and the elements are immortal; earthquakes, thunder, whirlwinds, and inundations, have an amazing power; but as for justice, nothing participates of that, but what is capable of reasoning, and knowing the divine effence. And whereas men are poffeffed with three different fentiments with respect to the gods, either of admiration, of fear, or of efleem, they feem to admire them, and think them happy by reason of their freedom from death and corruption,

corruption, to fear them on account of their power and empire over the world, and to love, honour, and reverence them for their justice; yet being thus affected towards the Deity in these three different ways, they defire only the two first of those properties, immortality, of which our nature is incapable; and power, which chiefly depends on fortune; while they foolishly neglect virtue, the only divine good that is in our own power; not confidering that justice alone makes the life of such as enjoy prosperity and power, heavenly and divine, whereas injuffice renders it groveling and brutal. The furname of Just at first procured Aristides love and respect, but at last envy; and this was chiefly owing to the fecret practices of Themistocles, who fpread a report among the people, that Aristides had abolished all courts of judicature, by making himself fole arbitrator and judge in all disputes, and thus had infensibly erected a monarchy in his own person, though without guards and attendants. The people, who were grown infolent upon their late fuccefs, thinking themselves worthy of greater honours, and refolving that every thing should depend on their pleasure, were violently bent against every man of superior eminence and reputation. Wherefore being affembled at Athens from all the towns of Attica, they banished Aristides by the oftracifm; difguifing their envy of his glory under the specious name of hatred to tyranny! For this exile was not a punishment for any crime or midemeanour, but only a kind of honourable retirement, which they called a curb and restraint to overgrown pride and power; but it was in reality a mild gratification of envy; for by this means, whoever was offended at the growing greatness of another, difcharged all his spleen and malice, not in any thing that was fevere and cruel, but only in a ten years. banishment. But, after some mean and worthless. wretches, and at last Hyperbolus, had been condemned

defined to this honourable exile, the Athenians defined from any further use of it. The occasion of Hyperbolus's banishment by the oftracism was this.

Alcibiades and Nicias, two persons of the greatest power and authority in the city, were at the head of two opposite factions; but finding that the people were about to have recourse to the oftracism, and that it would undoubtedly fall upon one of them, they confulted together, and uniting their interests contrived to turn it against Hyperbolus. Whereupon the people, full of indignation at the contempt and dishonour brought upon that kind of punishment, abolished it, and used it no more. The manner of voting in the oftracism was this. Every citizen took a piece of a broken pot, or shell, on which having wrote the name of the person ha would have banished, he carried it to a certain part of the market-place that was inclosed with wooden rails. Then the magistrates began to count the number of the shells; for if they were less than fix thousand, the offracism was void; but if the number was complete, then they laid every name apart by itself, and that person, whose name was found on the greatest number of shells, was declared banished for ten years, but with permission to enjoy his estate.

At the time that Aristides was banished, when the citizens were inscribing their names on the shells, it is reported, that an ignorant illiterate mancame to Aristides, whom he took for some ordinary person, and giving him his shell, desired him to write Aristides on it; he a little surprised at the adventure, asked the man if Aristides had ever injured him; to which the other replied, Not in the least, neither do I so much as know him, but I am weary with hearing him every where called the Just. Aristides made no answer, but took the shell, and having written his own name on it, returned it to the man.

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As he went out of the city to his banishment, lifting up his eyes to heaven, he made a prayer to the gods, quite contrary, as may easily be imagined, to that of Achilles; for he prayed, that the Athenians might never see that day which should force them to

remember Arifides.

Three years after, when Xerxes was marching to Attica through Theffaly and Bootia, the Athenians repealed this law, and made a public decree to call home all the exiles. What induced them to this was their fear of Aristides; for they were apprehensive that he by siding with the enemy might corrupt and bring over many of the citizens to their interest: but herein they very much mistook his character; for, before this decree, he constantly advised and encouraged the Greeks to maintain their liberty; and after it, when Themistocles was chofen general of the army, he joined with him, and affifted him both with his person and counsel: thus, out of regard to the public good, advancing his greatest enemy to the highest pitch of glory. For when Eurybiades the general had refolved to quit Salamin, and the enemy's ships failing by night, had in a manner furrounded the islands without any one's knowing that the army was encompassed, Ariftides failed from Ægina by night, and having paffed with great danger through the enemy's whole fleet, came at last to I hemistocles's tent, where, having called him out by himfelf, he fpoke to him in these words: If we are wife, Themistocles, we shall now for ever lay aside that vain and childish contention that has hitherto been between us, and begin a more falutary and honourable emulation, by contending which of us two shall do most for the safety of Greece, you by performing the part of a general, and I, by obeying and affifting you with my person and advice. I understand that y u alone have determined righ ly, advising to engage in the fraits without delay. Your allies oppose you, but the enemy feems to affift you; for the fea all round us is covered

covered and shut up by their fleet, so that they who were unwilling to come to an engagement must be forced to fight, and show themselves men of courage, there being no room

left for flight.

To this Themistocles replied, I am ashamed, Aristides, at your having got the start of me in this noble emulation; I shall use my utmost endeavours to outdo this beginning by my future actions. At the same time he acquainted him with the stratagem he had contrived to enfnare the Barbarians, and begged him to perfuade Eurybiades to venture a battle, and to show him the impossibility of faving themselves without it; for Ariftides had much the greater influence over him. Therefore when at a council of war, where all the general officers affifted, Cleocritus the Corinthian told Themistocles, that Aristides did not approve his advice, fince he was there present, and said nothing at all; Aristides answered, You are mistaken; for had not Themistocles proposed what is most expedient, I should have declared my own fentiments, and my filence is not owing to any favour to his person, but to my approbation of his advice. While the Grecian commanders were engaged in these debates, Aristides perceiving that Pfyttalia, a little ifland lying in the straits overagainst Salamin, was entirely possessed by the enemy's troops, put on board his finall transports some of the most brave and resolute of his countrymen, and landing with them there, attacked the enemy with fuch fury. that they were all cut to pieces, except some of the ... principal persons who were made prisoners. Among these were three sons of Sandauce the king's fifter, whom Aristides fent immediately to Themistocles; and it is faid, that at the command of a certain oracle, by the direction of Euphrantides the diviner, they were facrificed to Bacchus furnamed Omeftes.

After this, Aristides placed troops all round the island to watch all such as should happen to be

thrown

thrown upon it, that so none of his friends might perish, nor any of his enemies escape; for the greatest stress and fury of the battle seems to have lain thereabouts; and therefore a trophy was erect-

ed in that island.

When the battle was over, Themistocles, in order to discover Aristides's sentiments, spoke thus: We have performed a great exploit, but a greater still remains, which is, to take all Asia even in Europe, by sailing directly to the Hellespont, and breaking down the bridge that Xerxes has left there for his retreat. But Aristides exclaimed loudly against this project, and desired Themistocles to give over all thoughts of it, telling him, that he ought rather to consider how they might drive the Medes speedily out of Greece, lest so powerful an army finding themselves shut up, and no way lest for their escape, despair might rouse their courage, and sorce them to an obstinate desence.

Themistocles therefore sent a second time to Xerxes by Arnaces the eunuch, one of the captives, whom he ordered to acquaint the king privately, that, out of a desire to serve him, he had used his utmost endeavours to divert the Greeks from their design of cutting down the bridge over the Hellespont. Xermes, alarmed at the danger that seemed to threaten him, sailed immediately back towards the Hellespont with his whole seet, leaving Mardonius behind him with a land-army composed of three hun-

dred thousand of his best troops.

This great number of forces made the king's lieutenant-general very dreadful to the Greeks, and their fears were heightened by his menaces, and the haughty letters he wrote to them: You have, faid he, in one of them, overcome, at sea, men unskilled at the ear, and only accustomed to sight on land; but the plains of Thessaly and Bæetia offer us a fair opportunity to try the bravery of our horse and soot. But he wrote particular letters to the Athenians, in which

which he made them offers from the king, to rebuild their city, to give them large fums of money, and to make them masters of all Greece, upon condition they would withdraw their forces, and give their allies no further affistance. The Lacedæmonians having intelligence of these proposals, and fearing they might be accepted, fent ambaffadors to Athens, to entreat the Athenians to fend their wives and children to Sparta for their greater fafety, and to accept from them of what was necesfary for the fustenance and support of such as were in years; for the people, being despoiled both of their city and country, fuffered an extreme poverty. When the Athenians had heard the ambadiadors, they made them fuch an answer, by the direction of Aristides, as can never be sufficiently admired; they faid, They forgave their enemies, if they thought every thing was to be purchased for money, because perhaps they knew nothing of greater value; but that they were bigbly offended that the Lacedamonians should regard only their present poverty and distress, and, forgetful of the Athenian bonour and virtue, should think that an allowance of bread to their poor would be the only sufficient motive to induce them to continue firm to their alliance, and to fight for the fafety of Greece. fwer being approved of, all the ambaffadors were brought into the affembly. Ariffides then ordered those from Sparta to acquaint the Lacedamonians, That all the gold upon earth, and all that was contained within the bowels of it, was not fo valuable to the Athemans as the liberty of Greece; and to those that came from Mardonius, showing them the fun, he faid, That fo long as that luminary continued its course, fo long would the Athenians wage war against the Persians, to revenge the plundering and wasting of their country, and the profanation and burning of their temples. He likewife preferred a decree, that whofoever should fend any embaffy to the Medes, or defert the alliance liance of Greece, should be folemnly cursed by the

priefts.

When Mardonius made a fecond incursion into the country of Attica, the Athenians retired again into the island of Salamin. At that time Aristides being fent ambaffador to Sparta, complained of the delay and neglect of the Lacedæmonians, reproached them with their abandoning Athens again to the Barbarians, and earneftly exhorted them to march with all fpeed to the relief of that part of Greece which was not yet fallen into the enemy's hands. The Ephori having heard this reprefentation feemed very little moved at it, but fpent the whole day in feasting and merriment, it happening to be the festival of Hyacinthus. But at night they difpatched five thousand Spartans, each of them taking with him feven Helots, and fent them away privately, unknown to the Athenians. Some days after Aristides complaining again to the council, the Ephori told him fmiling, That he must needs either dote or dream; fince their army was by that time as far as Orestium, on their march against the foreigners; for fo the Lacedæmonians called the Barbarians. Aristides told them, it was not then a time to jest, and divert themselves with deceiving their friends instead of their enemies. This is Idomeneus's account of the matter: but in Aristides's decree, he is not mentioned as an ambaffador, the ambaffadors being Cimon, Xanthippus, and Myronides.

Being some time after appointed chief commander of the Athenian forces, he marched with eight thousand foot to Platææ. There Pausanias, general of all Greece, joined him with the Spartans, and the other Grecian troops arrived daily in great numbers. The Barbarian army was encamped along the side of the river Asopus, and occupied an immense tract of ground; in the middle of it there was a square wall thrown up, each side of which

was ten furlongs in length, for the fecurity of their

baggage and other things of value.

In the Grecian army there was a diviner of Elis, named Tisamenus, who had foretold Pausanias, and all the Greeks, that they should infallibly obtain the victory, provided they forbore to attack the enemy, and stood only on their own defence. And Aristides having sent to consult the oracle at Delphi, the god answered, That the Athenians should gain the victory over their enemies, provided they made their supplications to Jupiter, to Juno the patroness of Mount Citheron, to Pan, and to the nymphs Sphragitides; and sacrificed to the heroes, Androcrates, Leucon, Pisander, Damocrates, Hypsion, Acteon, and Polyidus; and fought only in their own country, in the plain of Ceres the Eleusinian and Proserpine.

This answer of the oracle very much perplexed Aristides; for the heroes to whom it commanded to offer facrifice were the ancestors of the Platæans; and the cave of the nymphs Sphragitides was on one of the summits of Mount Citheron, on that side which in the summer-season is opposite to the setting sun; in that cave, it is said, there was formerly an oracle, and many, who dwelt in those parts, were inspired by it, and were from thence called Nympholepti, that is, possessed by the nymphs. But on the other side, to promise victory to the Athenians, upon condition only of sighting in their own country, and in the plain of the Eleusinian Ceres,

was to transfer the war again into Attica.

In the mean time Arimnestus, the general of the Platæans, dreamed, that Jupiter the Saviour came to him, and asked him, What resolution the Grecians had taken? to which he answered, To-morrow we shall decamp and remove our army into the territories of Elcusis, and there fight the Barbarians, according to the directions of the oracle. To which the god replied, That they were quite mistaken; for the place mentioned by the oracle was the country round Platææ, and that they

they would find it to be so upon inquiry. After so plain a vision, Arimnestus, as foon as he awoke, sent for the most aged and experienced of his countrymen, and having advised with them, found at last, that not far from Husia, at the foot of Mount Citheron, there was a very old temple, called the temple of Eleusinian Ceres and Proserpine. He immediately led Aristides to the place, which they found very commodious for drawing up an army of foot, that was not well provided with cavalry, because the bottom of Mount Citheron extending as far as the temple, rendered it inaccessible to horse. Besides, in the fame place was the temple of the hero Androcrates, quite overgrown and covered by trees and thickets. And that the oracle might be obeyed in every particular, to confirm their hopes of victory, the Plateans, upon the motion of Arimnestus, made a decree to alter the boundaries between their country and Greece, enlarging the territories of Attica, that fo the Athenians, according to the direction of the oracle, might give the enemy battle within their own dominions. The Platæans became fo renowned for this generofity, that many years after, when Alexander had conquered all Asia, he caused the walls of Platter to be rebuilt, and proclamation to be made by an herald at the Olympic games, That he did the Plateans this favour for their virtue and generofity, of which they had given fuch figual proofs in the war with the Medes, by making over their country to the Athenians, for the fafety of Greece.

When it was proposed to draw up the whole army in order of battle, a great dispute arose between the Tegeatæ and the Athenians; the Tegeatæ pretending, that as the Lacedæmonians, in all battles, commanded the right wing, so the honour of commanding the left was their due; and to justify this pretension, they alleged the memorable exploits of their ancestors. As the Athenians were highly enra-

ged at this, Aristides advancing in the midst of them, faid, It is not now a time to contest with the Tegeate concerning their valour and exploits; we shall content our felnes with telling you, O Spartans, and all the rest of the Greeks, that it is not the post that gives courage, or takes it away, and that whatever post you shall assign us, we will endeavour to render it honourable, and maintain it in such a manner as to reflect no disgrace on our former achievements. We are come hither, not to contend with our friends, but to fight with our enemies; not to boaft of our ancestors, but to show our own bravery in the defence of Greece; for this battle will distinguish the particular merit of each city, commander, and private foldier. The council of war having heard this, declared in favour of the Athenians, and gave them the command of the left wing.

While the fate of all Greece was in suspense, and the Athenians in particular found themselves in very difficult and dangerous circumstances, several of the most noble and wealthy citizens seeing that they were ruined by the war, and that with their wealth they had lost all their credit and authority in the city, others being advanced in their room, and enjoying the honours they had lost, assembled privately in a house at Platax, and conspired a dissolution of the Athenian government; resolving, if they miscarried in their design, to ruin every thing, and

When Aristides discovered this conspiracy, which was carried on in the camp, and found that great numbers were already corrupted and won over, he was at first very much alarmed on account of the present juncture, and unresolved what course to pursue; but at last he determined neither wholly to neglect an affair of that consequence, nor yet to search too minutely into it: for not knowing how many might be engaged in it, he judged it adviseable to sacrifice justice, in some measure, to the pu-

betray all Greece to the Barbarians.

Commerce

ble to facrifice justice, in some measure, to the public good, by forbearing to prosecute all that were guilty. Out of the whole number he caused eight only to be apprehended, and of those eight, only two to be proceeded against, as being most guilty, Æschines of Lampra, and Agesias of Acharnes, who made their escape out of the camp during the prosecution. As for the rest, he discharged them; giving them thereby an opportunity to recover from their sear, and repent, as they might imagine that nothing had been sound against them; but he told them at the same time, That the battle would be the tribunal, where they might justify themselves, and make it appear, that they had never pursued any counsels, but

what were just and useful to their country.

After this, Mardonius, to try the Grecian courage, fent his cavalry, in which he was strongest, to tkirmith with them. The Greeks were encamped at the foot of Mount Citheron, in strong and stony places, except the Megarenfians, who, to the number of three thousand, were encamped in the plain; by which means they were the more exposed to the enemy's horse, who attacked them on every fide. They therefore fent to Paufanias for affiftance, being unable to oppose the superior power of the enemy. Paufanias hearing this, and feeing the camp of the Megarensians as it were darkened and covered by the great number of the barbarian darts and arrows, and that they were forced to contract themselves within a narrow compass, was at a loss what to resolve on; for he saw no way of attacking the enemy with his heavy-armed Spartans. He endeavoured therefore to awaken the emulation of the officers and commanders that were about him, that they might make it a point of honour voluntarily to undertake the defence and fuccour of the Megarenfians. But Ariftides perceiving that they all declined it, made an offer of his Athenians, and at the fame time gave his orders to Olympiodorus, the bravest of all his officers, who had a body of three hundred men, and fome archers under his command.

command. They were all ready in a moment, and marched against the Barbarians with the utmost expedition. Massisius, general of the Persian horse, a man diftinguished for his strength and graceful mien, as foon as he faw them, turned his horfe, and made toward them. The Athenians received him with great firmness and resolution; whereupon a sharp contest ensued, as if the event of the war were to be determined from the fuccess of this engagement. At last Masistius's horse being wounded with an arrow, threw his rider, who could not rife for the weight of his armour, nor yet be eafily flain by the Athenians, who thronged about him, and affaulted him on every fide; for not only his head and breaft, but all his limbs were covered with gold, brafs, and iron. But the vizor of his helmer leaving part of his face unguarded, a certain Athenian pierced him in the eye with his pike, and flew him; whereupon the Persians left his body, and The great advantage gained by the Athefled. nians did not appear from the number of the flain, very few lying dead upon the field of battle, but from the mourning of the Barbarians, who expressed fuch a grief for the death of Massistius, that they cut off their own hair, and that of their horses and mules, and filled all the camp with their cries, groans, and tears, as having lost the next person in the army to Mardonius, for courage as well as authority.

After this engagement against the barbarian horse, both armies continued a long time without coming to action; for the diviners that inspected the entrails of the facrifices, had equally affured the Greeks and Persians of victory, if they remained only on the defensive, and threatened the aggressors with a total deseat. But at length, Mardonius sinding that he had only a few days provision lest, and that the Grecian forces increased continually by the daily arrival of fresh troops, grew impatient, and resolved

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to wait no longer, but to pass the river Asopus next morning by break of day, and to fall upon the Greeks, whom he expected to find unprepared. In order to this, he gave his orders to all the commanders and officers, over-night. But about midnight a horseman came filently to the Grecian camp, and bid the centinels call Ariftides the Athenian. general to him; Ariftides came immediately, and the other faid to him, I am Alexander king of Macedon, who, out of the friendship I bear you, have exposed myself to the greatest dangers, that you might not be fo surprised by a sudden attack, as to behave with less bravery and re-Solution than usual. For Mardonius is determined to give you battle to-morrow; not that he is led to this by any well-grounded hope or prospect of success, but from a scarcity of provisions; for the augurs, by their ominous sacrifices and ill-boding oracles, endeavour to divert him from this enterprise, and his soldiers are fearful and de-Sponding; but necessity forces him either to run the bazard of a battle, or by delaying to fee his whole army perish for want. When Alexander had faid this, he defired Aristides to remember him as his friend, but. not to reveal this intelligence to any other person. Aristides replied that it would not be proper to conceal it from Paufanias, who was general of the army, but promised not to make the least mention of it to any other of the officers, till after the battle; affuring him at the fame time, that if the Geeks proved victorious, not a man in the whole army should remain ignorant of the danger he had. exposed himself to for their sakes, and the great kindness he had expressed to them on this important occasion.

After this, the king of Macedon returned back to his camp, and Aristides went directly to Pausanias's tent, and told him what he had heard; whereupon all the officers were fent for, and orders given to draw up the army, and prepare for battle. At the same time, as Herodotus writes, Pausanias acquainted.

acquainted Aristides with his design of altering the form of the army, by removing the Athenians from the left wing to the right, that fo they might be opposite to the Persians, against whom they would fight with the more bravery, and greater affurance of victory, as having already made proof of their manner of combat, and being likewife animated by their former fuccess; he intended to command the left wing himfelf, where he should be obliged to fight against those Greeks who had embraced the Median interest. All the other Athenian officers looked upon this behaviour of Paufanias as too haughty and infolent, to permit all the other Greeks to remain in their respective posts, and to take upon him to remove them, as if they were Helots, from place to place, at his pleafure, and to fet them against the most valiant of the enemy's troops. But Ariftides showed them, that they were very much mistaken. It is but a few days, said he, since you had a dispute with the Tegeatæ for the command of the left wing, and having gained that point, you looked upon it as a great honour; and now when the Spartans are willing to give you the command of the right wing, which is in a manner the command of the whole army, you are displeased at this further honour, and insensible of the advantage of not being obliged to fight against your own countrymen and relations, but only against barbarians, and fuch as are by nature your enemies. These words had fuch an effect, that the Athenians immediately agreed with pleafure, to change posts with the Spartans; and nothing was heard among them but exhortations to one another, to act like brave men. The enemy, faid they, bring with them neither better arms nor more courageous hearts than they had at Marathon; they have the same bows, the same embroidered habits, the same ornaments of gold, and the same soft. and effeminate bodies, as well as the same weak and cowardly fouls. As for us, we have fill the same weapons and the same bodies, but we have likewise a boldness and K 3 affurance

assurance heightened by our victories; nor do we, like them, fight only for a tract of land, or a single city, but for the trophies of Salamin and Marathon, that they may not appear to have been the work of Miltiades or Fortune,

but of the people of Athens.

While they were thus encouraging each other, they marched cheerfully to change posts with the Spartans. But the Thebans being advertised of it by deferters, fent forthwith to acquaint Mardonius, who, without delay, either for fear of the Athenians, or out of a defire to engage the Spartans, changed the order of his battle, placing the Perfians in his right wing, and the Greeks that were of his party, in the left, opposite to the Athenians. When this change was made known to Paufanias, he likewife changed again, he himself returning to the right wing; Mardonius likewise did the same, posting himself in his left, that he might be overagainst the Spartans; thus the day passed without any action at all. In the evening, it was refolved in a council of war to decamp, and take possession of tome place that was more commodious for water. because the springs near their present camp were disturbed and spoiled by the enemy's horse.

When the night was come, and the officers began to march at the head of their troops towards the place that had been marked out for a new camp, the foldiers feemed to follow unwillingly, and could not, without great difficulty, be kept together in a body; for as foon as they were got out of their first entrenchments, and at liberty, the greatest part made towards the city of Platæe, and some ran one way, and some another, pitching their tents where-ever they pleased themselves, without any order or discipline, which occasioned a very great consuson. It happened that the Lacedæmonians were left alone behind, though against their will; for Amompharetus, who commanded them, a daring, intrepid man, who for a long time

had been very defirous of coming to a battle, and grew impatient at their tedious lingerings and delays, openly called this decampment a difgraceful flight, and protested, he would not defert his post, but remain there with his troops, to receive and sustain the whole force of the enemy. And when Paufanias came and represented to him, that he ought to submit to what had been refolved on by the Greeks in council, he took up a large stone with both his hands, and throwing it at Pausanias's feet, said, There is my ballot for a battle; and I despise all the mean and cowardly resolutions of others. Pausanias was at a loss what to do, but resolved at last to send to the Athenians that were before, to halt a little, that they might all proceed in a body; and at the fame time he marched with the rest of the army towards Platææ, hoping that Amompharetus might by that means be induced to quit his post, and join him.

By this time the day began to appear, and Mardonius, who was advertised of the Grecians decampment, having formed his army, marched against the Lacedæmonians; and such were the shouts and cries of the Barbarians, that one would have imagined, they were going not to join battle with the Greeks, but to plunder and destroy them in their flight. And indeed this almost happened: for though Paufanias when he perceived this motion of Mardonius, stopped, and ordered every one to his post; yet either out of resentment against Amompharetus, or furprise at the sudden attack of the Persians, he forgot to give his troops the word; for which reason they did not all engage readily, nor at the same time in a body, but continued irregularly feattered in small parties, even after the

fight was begun.

Pausanias in the mean time offered sacrifice, but receiving no propitious omens, he commanded the Lacedæmonians to lay their shields at their feet, and to remain quiet, and attend his orders

without

without opposing the enemy. After this, he offered another facrifice, the enemies horse still advancing. They were now come within reach, and some of the Spartans were wounded, among whom was Callicrates, the tallest and most comely person in all the army. This brave officer being wounded with an arrrow, and ready to expire, said, That he did not lament his death, because he came from home with a design to sacrifice his life for the safety of Greece; but that he was sorry to die without having once drawn his sword against the enemy.

If this fituation of the Spartan army was dreadful, the steadiness and bravery of the men was worthy of the highest admiration; for they made no defence against the enemy that charged them, but expecting the signal from the gods and their geral, patiently suffered themselves to be wounded

and flain in their ranks.

Some authors write, that as Pausanias was praying and facrificing at a little distance from the army, some Lydians came upon him by surprise, and either carried off, or threw down the facrifice from the altar: and that Pausanias, and those that were with him, having no weapons, drove them away with staves and whips: and that, to perpetuate the memory of this action, they celebrate to this day a feast at Sparta, where they whip children round an altar, and conclude with a march called the Lydian march, in imitation of this incursion and slight of the Lydians.

Paufanias being exceedingly troubled, and feeing the priest offer one facrifice after another, without obtaining any favourable omen, turned on a sudden, with his eyes full of tears, towards Juno's temple, and lifting up his hands to heaven, addressed himself to that goddess, the patroness of Citheron, and to the other tutelar deities of the Platæans, beseeching them, That if the fates had not decreed that the Grecians should prove vistorious, they

might

might at least be permitted to fell their lives dearly, and not perish without first showing their enemies by their actions, that they had to do with men of experience and bravery. As foon as he had finished this prayer, the facrifices appeared propitious, and the diviners promised him the victory. Orders were immediately given to march against the enemy; and in an inftant the Spartan battalion feemed like the fingle body of fome fierce animal, erecting his briftles, and preparing for combat. The Barbarians plainly faw they were to encounter with men refolved to fight to the last drop of blood; wherefore covering themselves with their targets, they fhot their arrows amongst the Lacedæmonians, who moving in a close compact body, fell on them, and forced their targets out of their hands; at the same time they directed their blows at the breafts and faces of the Persians, and overthrew them; however, when they were down, they continued to give proofs of their great strength and courage; for taking hold of the Lacedæmonian spears with their naked hands, they brake many of them; and then rifing, and betaking themselves to their swords and battle-axes, preffing them close, wresting away their shields, and grappling with them, they made a long and obstinate resistance.

The Athenians all this while stood still in expectation of the Lacedæmonians; but hearing the noise of the battle, and being informed by an officer dispatched to them by Pausanias, that the engagement was actually begun, they marched without delay to their assistance; and as they crossed the plain towards the place where the noise was heard, the Greeks, who had sided with the enemy, met them. As soon as Aristides saw them, he advanced a considerable space before the army, and calling out to them, conjured them by all the gods of Greece, to give over this impious war, and not oppose the Athenians, who were going to the assistance of

those who were hazarding their lives for the safety of Greece; but perceiving that they paid no regard to what he said, but came on to engage him, he quitted his design of going to affist the Lacedæmonians, and fell upon these Greeks, who were about sifty thousand in number. But the greatest part of them soon gave way, and made a swift retreat, especially when they heard that the Barbarians were defeated. This engagement was hottest against the Thebans. The most considerable and powerful men among them at that time siding with the Medes, had, by virtue of their authority, brought

out their troops against their inclinations.

The battle being thus divided into two parts, the Lacedæmonians first broke and routed the Perfians, Mardonius himfelf being flain by one Arimnestus a Spartan, by a blow on his head with a stone, as the oracle of Amphiaraus had foretold: for Mardonius had fent a Lydian to confult this oracle; and at the fame time he likewife fent a Carian to the cave of Trophonius. The priest of I rophonius answered the Carian in his own language. As for the Lydian, he lay all night in the temple of Amphiaraus, as was customary, and dreamed that one of the priefts belonging to the god came to him, and commanded him to go out of the temple, and upon his refusal, threw a great stone at his head, so that he thought himself killed with the blow. This is the account given of that transaction.

The Barbarians being put to flight, were purfued by the Lacedemonians into their camp, which they had encompassed and fortified with wood; and in a little time after, the Athenians routed the Thebans, killing three hundred of the most considerable persons among them upon the spot. Just as they began to give way, news was brought that the Barbarians were shut up and besieged in their wooden fortification by the Lacedemonians;

whereupon

whereupon the Athenians giving the Greeks an opportunity to escape, marched to reinforce the Lacedæmonians, who made but a flow progress in their attack, being very little skilled in sieges. But when they arrived, they stormed the camp, and made a prodigious flaughter of the enemy; for of three hundred thousand men, only forty thoufand escaped with Artabasus; and on the Grecian fide no more were flain than one thousand three hundred and fixty. The Athenians loft only fiftytwo men, all of the tribe of Aiantis, which, as Clidemus the historian informs us, diftinguished itself particularly on that occasion; for which reason that tribe offered a yearly facrifice for this victory, to the nymphs Sphragitides, at the public charge, as the oracle of Apollo had commanded. The Lacedæmonians had ninety-one, and the Tegeatæ only fixteen flain in this battle : and therefore I am very much furprifed that Herodotus, should write, that they only, and none other, engaged the barbarians; fince the numbers of the flain, and their monuments, plainly show that this victory was obtained by the united power of all Greece. Had those three states only fought the enemy, and all the rest stood neuter, they would never have engraved this infcription on an altar erected in memory of this battle :

The Greeks, now victors o'er the Persian bands, This fair memorial rais'd with grateful hands, Sacred to Jove the father of the free; The gift, the proof, the pledge of liberty.

This battle was fought on the fourth day of Boëdromion [September], according to the Athenian way of reckoning; but according to the Bœotian computation, on the twenty-fourth of the month called Panemus; on which day there is still held a general affembly of the Greeks in the city of Platææ, and a facrifice is offered to Jupiter the Deliverer.

liverer, for this victory. As to the irregularity and difference of days in the Grecian months, that is not to be wondered at; fince even now, notwith-standing the science of astronomy has been so much cultivated and improved, the months begin and

end very differently in different places.

This victory had like to have proved fatal to Greece: for the Athenians refusing to yield the honour of the day to the Spartans, or to allow them to erect a trophy, they were upon the point of deciding the difference by arms, and would have proceeded to extremities, had not Aristides interposed, and by his arguments and entreaties appeafed the other commanders, and particularly Leocrates and Myronides, perfuading them to refer the decision of the matter to the Grecians. When they were affembled, Theogiton the Magarenfian gave his opinion, That the honour contended for, was not to be adjudged either to Athens or Sparta, unless they bad a mind to kindle the flames of a civil war. After him, Cleocritus the Corinthian rifing to fpeak, it was imagined he would demand this honour for his own country; for, next to Athens and Sparta, Corinth was the most considerable city of Greece; but they were agreeably furprised, when they found that his discourse turned wholly in commendation of the Platzans, and when he proposed, That to extinguish this dangerous contention, they should give the reward and glory of the victory to them only, at which neither of the contending parties would be displeased. Wereupon Aristides first agreed to the proposal, in the name of the Athenians, and afterwards Paufanias on the part of the Lacedæmonians.

Being all thus reconciled, they fet apart eighty talents for the Platæans, with which they built a temple, and erected a statue to Minerva, adorning the temple with curious pictures, which even still retain their original beauty and lustre. Both the Athenians and Lacedæmonians erected trophies se-

parately

parately. When they fent to confult the oracle at Delphi, about offering a facrifice, the god answered, That they should erect an altar to Jupiter the Deliverer, but forbear to offer any facrifice on it, till they had extinguished all the fire in the country, because it had been polluted and profaned by the Barbarians; and that they should afterwards fetch pure fire from the common altar at Delphi. As foon as the Greeks were informed of this oracle, the generals went all over the country, and caused the fires to be put out; and Euchidas a Platzan undertaking to fetch fire from the altar of Apollo with all speed, went to Delphi, where having sprinkled and purified himself with water, he put a crown of laurel on his head, and taking fire from the altar, haftened back to Platææ, where he arrived before fun-fet, performing that day a journey of a thousand furlongs: but having faluted his fellow-citizens, and delivered the fire to them, he immediately fell down, and foon after expired. The Platzans carried him away, and buried him in the temple of Diana, furnamed Eucleia, and put this infcription on his tomb.

Here lies Euchidas, who went to Delphi, and returned in the same day.

Most are of opinion, that Eucleia is Diana, and call her by that name; but others maintain, that she was the daughter of Hercules and Myrto the daughter of Menœtius, and sister of Patroclus; and that dying a virgin she was highly honoured by the Bœotians and Locrians. For in the market-places of all their cities, she has altars erected, where persons of both sexes that are betrothed, offer faccisice before their marriage.

At the first general affembly of the Greeks, after this victory, Aristides proposed a decree, That a council consisting of deputies from all the cities of Greece, should be held annually at Plutæe, and that every fifth

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year they should celebrate games of liberty: that a general levy should be made over all Greece for the war against the Barbarians, of ten thousand foot, a thousand horse, and an hundred sail of ships: that the Platæans should be looked upon as exempt, and sacred to the service of the gods, and be only employed in offering sacrifices for the

welfare of Greece.

This decree being passed, the Platzens undertook to perform an annual facrifice in honour of those that were flain in that place; and they still continue to perform it after this manner. On the fixteenth day of Maimacterion [November], which with the Bœotians is the month Alalcomenius, they have a procession which they begin by break of day; it is opened by a trumpet founding the fignal of battle; then follow feveral chariots full of garlands and branches of myrtle, and next to the chariots a black bull; then come fome young men that are free born, carrying the usual libations, vessels full of wine and milk, and cruets of oil and ointments: for no flave is allowed to be prefent at a folemnity which is performed in honour of fuch as died in the cause of liberty. And last of all, follows the Archon, or chief magistrate of Platææ, who at all other times is obliged not fo much as to touch iron, or wear any garment but white; but, that day, he is clothed in a purple robe, and girt with a fword; and carrying in his hands a water-pot taken out of the city-hall, he walks through the midft of the city to the burying-place. Then taking water in his pot out of a fountain, he himself washes the little pillars of the monuments, and rubs them with fweet ointments, after which he kills the bull, upon a pile of wood. And laftly having made his fupplication to the terrestrial Jupiter and Mercury, he invites those brave men who died in the defence of Greece to this funeral banquet and oblation; then filling a bowl with wine, and pouring it out, he fays, I present this

bowl to those men who died for the liberty of Greece. This is the manner of that funeral solemnity,

which the Platzans observe to this day.

When the Athenians were returned home, Arifitides perceiving that they endeavoured every way to get the government into their hands, and to establish a democracy; and considering, on one hand, that they deserved a more than ordinary regard on account of their late gallant behaviour, and on the other, that it was a difficult task to curb and restrain those who had their weapons still in their hands, and were highly elated by their victories, he proposed a decree, that every citizen should have an equal right to the government, and that the Archon should be chosen out of the whole body of people, without any preserence or distinction.

Themistocles declaring one day, at a public affembly of the people, that he had formed a defign which would be of great advantage to the state, but that it was of fuch importance that it ought to be kept fecret, he was ordered to communicate it to Aristides, to whose sole judgment it was referred. And when I hemistocles had informed him that his project was to burn the whole Grecian navy, by which means the Athenians would become for powerful, as to be the fovereigns of all Greece, Aristides returning to the affembly, told the Athenians, That nothing could be more advantageous than the design Themistocles had communicated to him, and that nothing could be more unjust. Upon which report the Athenians ordered Themistocles to desist; such was their love of justice, and such the esteem and confidence which Aristides had obtained among them.

Some time after this, being joined in commission with Cimon, he was fent against the Barbarians; where observing that Pausanias and the other Spartan commanders behaved with excessive haughtiness towards all the allies, he chose a quite different manner, conversing freely with them, and treat-

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ing them with the greatest mildness and condescenfion; and Cimon, in imitation of his example, became fo affable and courteous, that he was univerfally beloved. By this means he infenfibly stole away the fovereign command from the Lacedæmonians, not by force of arms, horses, or ships, but by his kind and obliging behaviour. Aristides's. justice, and Cimon's candour had already very much endeared the Athenians to all the confederates; but the avarice and cruelty of Paufanias rendered them still more amiable. For he always spoke to the officers with sternness and severity; and as for the common foldiers, they were either whipt, or obliged to ftand a whole day with an iron: anchor on their shoulders, for the least offences, Neither durst they provide forage for their horses, straw for themselves to lie on, or so much as touch a fpring of water till the Spartans were all ferved; his fervants being constantly posted there with whips. to drive away fuch as offered to approach. And when Aristides attempted one day to expostulate with him on his behaviour, he told him with a fierce and angry look, that he was not at leifure, and refused to hear him.

From that time the fea-captains and land-officers, and particularly those of Chios, Samos, and Lefbos, pressed Aristides to accept of the general command of all the confederate forces, and receive them into his protection, they having long defired to be delivered from the Spartan yoke, and to fubmit only to the Athenians. Ariftides answered, That he faw a great deal of force and reason in what they faid; but that it was necessary to perform some action. that might manifest the sincerity of their intentions, and at the same time fix the troops beyond a possibility of changing. Upon this answer, Uliades of Samos and Antagoras of Chios conspiring together, went boldly and attacked Paufanias's galley at the head of the whole fleet near Byzantium. When Paufanias perceived

ceived their insolence, he rose up in a rage, and threatened to make them soon know that it was not his galley, but their own country they had thus insulted. But they told him, that the best thing he could do was to retire, and thank fortune for her favours at Platææ; for that nothing but the regard they had for that great action, restrained the Greeks from revenging the ill treatment they had received at his hands. The conclusion was, that they renounced all manner of submission to the Spartans, and ranged themselves under the Athenian banners.

The wonderful magnanimity of the Spartan people appeared very fully on this occasion; for finding that their generals were grown corrupt through the greatness of their power and authority, they sent no more, but voluntarily laid down the chief command of the confederate forces, chusing rather to see their citizens prudent, modest, and strictly observant of their laws and customs, than to possess

All the time the Lacedæmonians had the command, the Grecians paid a certain tax towards carrying on the war; but being now defirous that every city thould be justly and equally rated, they begged Aristides of the Athenians, and intrusted him with the care of examining all the lands and revenues, that so all might pay according to their real wealth

and ability.

Aristides being invested with this great authority, by which he became in a manner master of all Greece, was far from abusing the trust reposed in him; and if he entered upon it poor, he went out of it poorer; for he levied this tax, not only justly and disinterestedly, but likewise with such tenderness and humanity, as to render it easy and agreeable to all. And as the ancients used to celebrate the reign of Saturn, so did the confederate Greeks this taxation of Aristides, calling it the happy fortune of Greece; and this applause was very much heighten

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ed foon after, when that taxation was doubled and trebled. For Aristides's assessment amounted to no more than four hundred and fixty talents, but Pericles afterwards increased it almost a third; for I hucydides says, that, at the beginning of the war, the Athenians received six hundred talents from their allies; and after his death they who had the government then in their hands, raised it by little and little till it came to thirteen hundred; not that the war grew more expensive, either by its long continuance, or want of success, but because they accustomed the people to receive distributions of money for the public spectacles and other purposes, and had made them fond of erecting magnificent statues and temples.

Aristides having gained a wonderful reputation by the equity of his taxation, Themistocles, it is said, made a jest of it, and used to say, that the commendation they gave him on this account, was not the commendation of a man, but of a money-chest, which safely keeps the money that is put into it without diminution: wherein he revenged himself but very poorly for a severe expression of Aristides. For Themistocles saying one day, that he looked upon it as the greatest excellency of a general to know and foresee the designs of an enemy; Aristides replied, that it was indeed a necessary qualification, but that there was another equally illustrious and becoming a general, which was to have

clean hands, and not to be a flave to money.

When Aristides had finished the articles of alliance, he made all the people of Greece swear to the observation of each particular; and he himself took the oath in the name of the Athenians, and threw pieces of red-hot iron into the sea, when he had pronounced the curses against such as should violate what they had sworn. But afterwards when the Athenians, through the necessity of their affairs, were forced to be guilty of some breaches of this oath, and to rule more absolutely, he advised them

to throw upon him all the curses and guilt of that perjury, which the necessity of their affairs required. Upon the whole, Theophrastus informs us, that in all his own private concerns, and in his behaviour to his fellow-citizens, he was perfectlyjust; but that in matters of government he frequently fubmitted to the exigency of affairs, when acts of injuffice became necessary; and he relates, that once in council, when there was a debate about bringing some treasure to Athens that had been deposited at Delos, as the Samians had advifed, though contrary to a treaty, when he came tospeak, he said, that it was expedient, but not just?

In fine, though he had raifed his city to fo high a degree of glory, and established her dominion over so many people, yet he himself continued poor to the day of his death, esteeming his poverty no less a glory than all the laurels he had won, as appears from hence. Callias the torch-bearer, who was his relation, was capitally accused by his enemies; when the day of trial came, they urged the heads of their accufation against him very faintly, but enlarged much on an affair that was foreign to the charge, telling the judges, You know Aristides the son of Lysimachus, a man who is the admiration of all Greece. How do you think he lives at home, when you see him appear every day in public in a sorry thread bare coat? Is it not reasonable to imagine, that he who shakes with cold without doors, is ready to starve with hunger, and wants necessaries within? Yet does Callias, the richest man in all Athens, wholly neglect this person, who is his cousin-german, suffering him, with his wife and children, to live in extreme necessity, notwithstanding be has received great services from him, and on several occasions made use of his credit and interest with you. Callias perceiving that his judges were more affected and exasperated by this reproach, than by all the other crimes of which he had been accused, fummoned Aristides to appear and testify in his behalf.

half, that he had not only offered him money feveral times, but strongly pressed him to accept it, which he had always obstinately refused, making him this answer, It better becomes Ariftides to glory in his poverty, than Callias in his wealth; for many people make a good as well as a bad ufe of riches, but it is hard to find one that bear's poverty well; and they only are ashamed of it who are forced to bear it against their will. Ariflides having given this deposition in Callias's behalf, there was not one person that went out of the affembly, but was more in love with Ariftides's poverty than his kinfman's wealth. This is the account left us by Æschines, the disciple of Socrates; and Plato, among all the Athenians that were perfons of eminence and distinction, judged none but. Ariftides worthy of real efteem. As for I hemiftocles, Cimon, and Pericles, they filled the city with wealth, magnificent buildings, and vain ornaments; but virtue was the only object which Aristides had in view during his administration.

He gave manifest proofs of his great candour and moderation, even towards Themistocles himself. For though he had been his constant enemy on all occasions, and the cause of his banishment; yet when a fair opportunity for revenge was offered, upon a fair opportunity for revenge was offered, upon a fair opportunity, he showed no resentment of the injuries he had received, refused to join with, Alcmeon, Cimon, and several others in the prosecution, said nothing at all to his disadvantage, nor in the least insulted him in his misfortunes, as he had.

never envied him in his prosperity.

Some affirm, that Aristides died in Pontus, whither he went upon some affairs relating to the public; others, that he died of old age at Athens, in great honour, esteem, and veneration with his fellow-citizens. But the account given us of his death by Craterus the Macedonian, is as follows. After the banishment of Themistocles, the pride and insolence

infolence of the populace gave rife to a great number of villanous informers, who attacked the reputation of the best and greatest men in the city, exposing them to the envy of the people, who were at that time highly elated by their fuccess and power. Aristides himself did not escape, but fell under a fentence of condemnation, having been accused by Diophantus of Amphitrope, of taking a bribe from the lonians at the time of his levying the tax. He adds, that being unable to pay his fine, which was fifty minæ, he set fail from Athens, and died somewhere in Ionia. But Craterus produces no written proof of this, neither the form of the accufation, nor the public decree; though on other occasions he is careful to collect this fort of evidence, and to cite his authors. Almost all the other writers that have undertaken to give an account of the people's injustice towards their governors and generals, make particular mention of Themistocles's banishment, Miltiades's imprisonment, Pericles's fine, and Paches's death, who, upon receiving fentence, killed himself in the judgment-hall, before the tribunal; and feveral other inftances of the like nature they relate; they also mention the banishment of Aristides by the ostracism, but none of them, any where, fpeak one word of this condemnation. Befides, his monument is still to be feen at Phalerum, and was erected at the charge of the city, he not. having left enough behind him to defray his funeral expenses. It is likewife faid, that the city provided for the marriage of his daughters, and that each of them received three thousand drachmas for her portion out of the public treasury. The people likewise bestowed on his son Lysimachus an hundred minæ of filver, and a plantation-of- as many acres of land, besides a pension of four drachmas a-day, confirmed to him by a decree which was drawn up by Alcibiades. Callifthenes writes further, that Lysimachus dying and leaving a daughter whose name was Polycrite, the people affigned her the same allowance with those that conquered at the Olympic games. Demetrius the Phalerean, Hieronymus the khodian, Aristoxenus the musician, and Aristotle himself, if the treatise concerning nobility, that is found among his works, be really his, affirm that Myrto, Aristides's grand-daughter, was married to Socrates the philosopher, who had another wife at the same time, but took her, because she was in extreme want, and remained a widow on account of her poverty. But this is sufficiently consuted by Panætius, in his life of So-

crates.

The same Demetrius, in his account of Socrates, writes, that he remembers to have feen one Lyfimachus, grandfon to Ariftides, who, being very poor, fat constantly near the temple of Bacchus, having certain tables, by which he interpreted dreams for a livelihood; and that he himself procured a decree to be passed, by which his mother and aunt were allowed half a drachma a-day for their subsistence. He writes further, that when he afterwards undertook to reform the Athenian laws, he ordered each of those women a drachma a-day. And it is no wonder that the people of Athens took fuch great care of the poor that lived in the city with them, when hearing that a grand-daughter of Aristogiton lived in great distress in the isle of Lemnos, and continued unmarried through poverty, they fent for her to Athens, and married her to a man of a confiderable family, giving her for a portion an estate in the borough of Potamos. I his city, even in our days, continues to give fo many proofs of the like humanity and bounty, that it has deservedly gained the applause and admiration of the whole world.

## LIFE

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## PHILOPOEMEN.

Afander was a man of great quality and power in the city of Mantinæa, but, by a reverse of fortune, happened to be driven from There being an intimate friendship betwixt him and Crausis, the father of Philopæmen, who was a person of extraordinary worth, he settled at Megalopolis, where, while his friend lived. he was splendidly maintained. When Crausis died, he repaid the father's hospitable kindness by the eare of his orphan fon; by which means Philopæmen was educated by him, as Homer fays Achilles was by Phænix, and from his infancy formed to noble and virtuous inclinations. But Ecdemus and Demophanes had the principal care of him, after he was past the years of childhood: they were both Megalopolitans; they professed the academic philofophy, which they had learned from Arcefilaus, and above all men of their time applied the precepts of philosophy to action and state-affairs. They had freed their country from flavery, by employing some persons privately to kill Aristodemus; they had affifted Aratus in driving out the tyrant Nicocles from Sicyon; and at the request of the Cyrenæans, when their city was in great confusion, went thither by fea, inflituted for them excellent

laws, and admirably regulated their commonwealth. Of all their actions, they most valued the education of Philopæmen, thinking, that, by instructing him in the precepts of philosophy, they had rendered him a general blessing to Greece. And indeed, as he was born the last of so many famous generals, Greece looked upon him as the child of her old age, loved him extremely, and as his reputation increased, enlarged his power. A certain Roman, to praise him, calls him the last of the Grecians; as if after him Greece had produced no great man, nor any who deserved the name of Grecian.

His countenance was not, as fome fancy, deformed, for his statue is yet to be seen at Delphi. As for the mistake of his hostess at Megara, they fay it was occasioned by the meanness of his habit, the homeliness of his garb, and the easy plainness of his conversation. She having word brought her that the general of the Achæans was coming to her house in the absence of her husband, was in a great hurry about providing his fupper. Philopæmen just at that time arriving in a mean garb, she took him for one of his own attendants, and defired him to affift her in her household work; he presently threw off his cloak, and began to cleave fome wood. The husband returning, and finding him thus employed, faid, What is the meaning of this, Philopæmen? I am, replied he in his Doric dialect, paying the fine of my deformity. Flaminius feeming to rally the form of his body, told him one day, he had well-shaped hands and feet, but no belly : and he was indeed very flender in the waift. But this raillery was meant of the poverty of his fortune; for he had good foldiers both horse and foot, but often wanted money to pay them. These are stories which are told in the schools concerning Philopæmen.

As he was infatiably covetous of honour, his temper was fomewhat rough and choleric. He

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strove to resemble Epaminondas, and came not much behind him in valour, good conduct, and uncorruptible integrity: but his bold imperious temper not fuffering him in civil contests to keep within the bounds of gravity, mildness, and humanity, he was thought more proper for the camp than for the city; for he was strongly inclined to war, even from his childhood, and applied himself to such arts as related to it, taking great delight in managing of horses, and handling of weapons. Because he was naturally well-formed for wreftling, his friends and tutors perfuaded him to bestow some pains upon that art. But he would first be fatisfied, whether it would not hinder his improvement as a foldier. They told him the truth, that the habit of body, the manner of life, the diet and exercife of a foldier and a wreftler were quite different'; that the wrestler slept much and fed plentifully, was punctually regular in his fet times of exercise and rest, every little excess, or breach of his usual method, being injurious to him; where is the foldier, by all variety of irregular changes, was to bring himself to endure hunger and watching without difficulty. Philopæmen hearing this, not only laid by all thoughts of wreftling, and contemned it then, but when he came to be general, discouraged it by all the marks of reproach and infamy he could imagine, as a thing which rendered men, otherwife very fit for war, utterly ufelefs, and unable to fight on necessary occasions.

When he ceased to be under the authority of his masters and governors, and began to bear arms in the incursions which his citizens used to make upon the Lacedæmonians for pillage, he always marched out the first, and returned the last. In times of leisure he exercised his body, and endeavoured to render it strong and active, by hunting, or labouring his ground; for he had a good estate about twenty surlongs from the town, and thither

he went every day after dinner and fupper; and at night threw himself upon the first mattress in his way, and there slept as one of the labourers. At break of day he would rise with the rest, and work either in the vineyard or at the plough; from thence he returned again to the town, and employed his time in public business with his friends or the magistrates. What he got in the wars, he laid out on horses, arms, or in redeeming captives; but he endeavoured to improve his own estate, the justest way, by husbandry; and this he practised not slightly, by way of diversion, but as one who thought it his duty so to manage his own fortune, as to be free from all temptation of wrong-

ing others.

He spent much time in hearing the discourses and studying the writings of philosophers; but he selected his authors, and read only those by whom he might improve in virtue. Among all Homer's fictions and fentiments he chiefly minded those that ferved to raife the courage, and four men on to great actions. As to other authors, he studied principally the tactics of Evangelus, and the hiftories of Alexander. As he thought that the true end of reading was not merely to pass away the time, or to furnish matter for fruitless talk, but to reduce what is read into practice, he paid little regard to the plans and figures by which the writers on tactics illustrate their precepts; he studied the nature and fituation of places themselves; so that he would be exercifing his thoughts as he travelled, and arguing with those who were with him, about the difficulties of steep or broken ground, and the difference that would be occasioned in the arrangement of an army by rivers, ditches, and defiles. The truth is, he was too much addicted to war, which he paffionately loved, confidering it as the means of exercifing all forts of virtue; and he utterly

terly contemned those who were not foldiers, as

drones and useless in the commonwealth.

When he was thirty years of age, Cleomenes, king of the Lacedæmonians, furprifed Megalopolis by night, forced the guards, broke in, and feized the market-place. Philopæmen ran to the affiftance of the citizens, fought very gallantly, and exposed himself to great danger, but he could not beat the enemy out again. However, he faved the citizens, who escaped while he made head against those who purfued them, and kept Cleomenes employed, till having loft his-horfe, and received feveral wounds, he had much ado to escape himself, being the last man in the retreat. The Megalopolitans faved themselves at Messene, whither Cleomenes fent to them, offering to restore their town, their goods, and their territory. Philopæmen perceiving that they were pleafed with the offer, and eager to return, prevented them, by representing, that what Cleomenes called reftoring the city, was taking the citizens, and holding the place with more fecurity; that folitude would foon force him away, as it could not be supposed that he would stay to guard empty houses and naked walls. These reafons stopped the Megalopolitans, but gave occasion to Cleomenes to pillage and destroy a great part of the city, and carry away much booty.

Some time after King Antigonus coming down to faccour the Achæans, they marched with their united forces against Cleomenes; who having seized the avenues, lay advantageously posted on the hills of Sellasia. Antigonus drew up his army near him, with a resolution to force him from his post. Philopæmen with his citizens was that day placed among the horse, supported by the Illyrian foot, a numerous body of tried and able men, who closed that wing of the army. Their orders were to keep their ground, and not engage till from the other wing, where the king fought in person, they should see a

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red robe lifted up on the point of a spear. The Achæans obeyed the orders, and stood fast: but the llyrians fell brifkly upon the enemy. Euclidas the brother of Cleomenes, seeing the foot thus severed from the horse, detached the best of his lightarmed men, commanding them to wheel about, and charge the rear of the Illyrians. This attack put them into great confusion; but Philopæmen confidering that those light-armed men might easily be difperfed, went first to the king's officers, to make them fenfible what the occasion required. They paid no regard to his advice, looking upon him as a rash, inconsiderate young man; for his reputation for military skill and conduct was not yet established. He therefore attacked those lightarmed troops with his own citizens, and at the first encounter difordered, and foon after put them to flight with great flaughter. Then to encourage the king's army to make a general attack upon the enemy while they were in confusion, he quitted his horse; and while he was fighting with great difficulty in his heavy horseman's armour, upon rough uneven ground full of springs and bogs, he had both his thighs struck through with a jayelin, fo that the point came out on the other fide, and made a great, though not a mortal wound. He stood still a while, as if he had been shackled, and was quite unable to move. The thong in the middle of the weapon rendered it difficult to be drawn out; nor would any about him venture to do it. But the fight being now at the hottest, and like to be quickly over, he was impatient to be engaged, and ftruggled and strained so long, moving his legs backward and forward, that at last he broke the staff, and or; dered the pieces to be pulled out. Being in this manner fet at liberty, he caught up his fword, and running through the midst of those who were fighting in the first ranks, strangely animated his men, and fired them with emulation. Antigonus,

after the victory, asked the Macedonians, (pretending ignorance), how it happened that the horse had charged before the signal was given? They answered, that they were against their will forced to it by a young man of Megalopolis, who had begun the attack too soon. That young man, replied Antigonus

fmiling, has acted like an experienced commander.

This action, as we may eafily imagine, brought Philopæmen into great reputation. Antigonus was eager to have him in his fervice, and offered him very advantageous terms, both as to command and pay. But Philopæmen, who knew that his nature brooked not to be under another, would not accept them; yet not enduring to live idle, and being defirous to exercise and improve his martial talents, hearing there was a war in Crete, he passed over thither. Having spent a considerable time there with men distinguished for their bravery and military knowledge, as well as for their fobriety and temperance, he returned with fo much fame, that the Achæans immediately chose him general of the horse. Their cavalry at that time had neither experience nor courage, having been accustomed to ferve on little triffing horses, the first and cheapest they could procure, when they were to march; which too they feldom did, but hired others in their places, and staid at home themselves. Their former commanders winked at this, because it being a degree of honour among the Achæans to serve on horseback, they had a great deal of power in the commonwealth, and were able to gratify or molest whom they pleafed. Philopæmen finding them in this condition, yielded not to fuch confiderations, but went himself from town to town, where speaking to the young men, one by one, he endeavoured to inspire them with the love of praise and honour; fuch as he could not otherwise influence, he punished; and by continually exercifing and reviewing them, and making them skirmish with one another M 3

in those places where they were like to have most spectators, he in a little time rendered them wonderfully ftrong and bold, and, which is reckoned of greatest consequence in war, quick and vigorous, By use and industry they acquired such a command of their horses, and tuch a readiness and exactness in their various motions and evolutions whether performed separately or together, that the whole number feemed like a fingle body actuated by an internal voluntary principle. In the great battle which they fought with the Ætolians and Eleans by the river Lariffus, Damophantus, general of the Flean horse, fingled out Philopæmen, and ran full speed at him. Philopæmen prevented him, and with a violent blow of his fpear threw him dead upon the ground. As foon as he fell, the enemy fled immediately. And now Philopæmen was univerfally celebrated as a man who in personal valour yielded not to the youngest, nor to the oldest in good conduct, and who was equally qualified to fight and to command.

Aratus indeed was the first who raised the reputation and power of the Achæans, till then inconfiderable, by uniting the divided cities into one commonwealth, and fettling a form of government, inoderate and becoming Grecians. As in running waters, when a few little bodies once frop, others flick to them, and one part strengthening another, the whole becomes one firm and folid body; fo it was with Greece. Pefore the time of Aratus, when every city relied on itself, the whole lay exposed to an easy destruction. But the Achazans first united themselves into a body, and then drew in their neighbours round about, fome of whom they engaged to join with them by delivering them from the tyrants who oppressed them, while others were of themselves inclined to share the advantage of fo falutary an union and fo well conflituted a government; and they defigned at last to

bring all Peloponnesus into one community. Yer, while Aratus lived, they depended much on the Macedonians, courting first Ptolemy, then Antigonus and Philip, who had a great influence on the affairs of Greece. But when Philopæmen came to command, the Achæans growing strong enough for the most powerful of their enemies, would march no longer under foreigners. truth is, Aratus, as we have written in his life, was not of so warlike a temper; what he did was chiefly effected by his mildness and affability, and his friendship with foreign princes. But Philopæmen, being a man of an active and martial disposition, and fortunate in his first attempts, greatly increafed both the power and courage of the Achæans, who were accustomed to victory under his conduct.

But first he altered what he found amis in their arms and form of battle. Formerly they used light, thin bucklers, too narrow to cover the body, and javelins much shorter than those of the Macedonians. By which means they were well fitted for skirmishing at a distance, but in a close fight had much the difadvantage. As to their form of battle, they were unaccustomed to that which is called spiral; and their fquare phalanx was easily feparated and broken, not having the strength and fecurity which that of the Macedonians had, who projected their long spears in front, and stood so close that all their shields were joined together. Philopæmen reformed all this, perfuading them to change the narrow target and short javelin, into a large buckler and long pike; to arm their heads, bodies, thighs, and legs; and instead of loose skirmishing, to fight firmly, and foot to foot. After he had brought them all to wear armour, and by that means to look upon themselves as invincible. he turned their wanton riotous profusions into an honourable expense. For being long used to vie

with each other in their cloaths, in the furniture of their houses, and service of their tables, he saw. it was impossible to destroy entirely this vain and foolish emulation, which was like an inveterate malady; he therefore endeavoured to divert this vanity of theirs from these superfluities to things useful and laudable, and quickly prevailed upon them. to be fparing in their other expenses, that they might make a finer appearance in their warlike equipage. Nothing then was to be feen in the shops but plate breaking or melting down, breaft-plates, bucklers, and bridles adorned with gold and filver; nothing in the places of exrcife, but horses managing, and young men exercifing their arms; in. the hands of the women were frequently feen helmets and crefts adorned with various colours, and embroidered military vests both for the cavalry and infantry. The fight of these things raised their spirits and quickened their courage, fo that they contemned dangers, and were ready to venture on any honourable exploits.

Much expense in other things that attract our eyes is apt to produce luxury and effeminacy; the grateful titillation of the fenfe flackening the vigour. of the mind; but in this instance it strengthens and improves it: thus Homer represents Achilles at the fight of his new arms exulting with joy, and on fire to use them. When Philopæmen had prevailed on them to arm, and adorn themselves in this manner, he proceeded to train them, mustering and exercifing them perpetually; and they obeyed him with great cheerfulness and exactness. For they were wonderfully pleafed with their new form of battle, which being fo knit and cemented together, feemed almost impossible to be broken. And their arms, which for their richness and beauty they wore withpleasure, becoming light and easy by constant use, they longed for nothing more than to try them with

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an enemy, and to fight in earnest.

The Achæans at that time were at war with Machanidas the tyrant of Lacedæmon, who having a ftrong army, watched all opportunities of becoming entire mafter of Peloponnesus. When intelligence came that he was fallen upon the Mantineans, Philopæmen prefently took the field, and marched towards him. They met near Mantinea, and drew up in fight of the city. Befide the whole strength of their feveral cities, they both had a good number of mercenaries in pay. The engagement being begun, Machanidas, with his hired foldiers, broke through the spearmen and Tarentines whom Philopæmen had placed in the front, to cover the Achæans. But when he should have charged immediately into the main battle, which stood close. and firm, he hotly followed the chace; and instead of routing the Achæan army, difordered his own. After so unfortunate a beginning, the rest of the confederates gave themselves for lost; but Philopæmen seemed to slight it as a matter of small confequence; and observing the enemy's overfight, who had left their main body undefended, and the ground clear, would not make head against Machanidas, but let him purfue the runaways freely, till he had got to a great distance from his main Then feeing the Lacedæmonians before him, deferted by their horse, with their flanks exposed, he charged suddenly, and surprised them while they were without a commander, and did not expect an encounter: for when they faw Machanidas driving the enemy before him, they thought the victory already gained. He overthrew them with a great flaughter, for they report that above four thousand were killed in the place; he then faced about against Machanidas, who was returning with his mercenaries from the purfuit, There happened to be a broad deep ditch between them, where both strove a while, one to get over and fly, the other to hinder him. The contest feemed

feemed not like that between two generals, but rather resembled an encounter between an eager huntiman and a wild beaft closely purfued, whom necessity reduces to fight. The tyrant's horse was mettled and ftrong; and feeling the bloody fours in his fides, ventured to leap into the ditch; and was raising his fore feet in order to climb up the opposite bank, when Symmias and Polyænus, who used to fight by the fide of Philopæmen, rode up and levelled their spears against Machanidas. But Philopæmen; preventing both, advanced himfelf; and perceiving that the horse, with his head high reared, covered his mafter's body; he turned his own a little, and striking at Machanidas with all his force, tumbled him dead into the ditch. The Achæans, being wonderfully pleafed with his valour in this fingle combat, and with his conduct the whole day, fet up his fratue in brass at Delphi, in the posture in which he killed the tyrant.

It is reported, that at the Nemean games, a little after the victory, Philopæmen being then general the fecond time, and at leifure by reason of the solemnity, first showed the Grecians his army, drawn up as if they were to fight, with all the motions occurring in a battle performed with wonderful order, strength, and activity. After which he went into the theatre, while the musicians were singing for the prize. He was attended by a number of his foldiers dreffed in their military vests and scarlet tunics; they were all in the flower of their age, and comely in their persons; and though they showed great respect to their general, yet they seemed to have a noble confidence in themselves, raised by fuccess in many glorious encounters. At their coming in, by chance one Pylades, a musician, with a voice well fuited to the lofty style of the poet, was finging this verfe out of the Perfæ of Timo-

theus.

Glory and freedom Greece from me receives.

The whole theatre presently cast their eyes on Philopoemen, and clapped their hands for joy, being ravished with the hopes of recovering again their former fame, and feeling in themselves a degree of resolution and magnanimity little short of their ancient virtue.

As young horses go quietly with their usual riders, but are wild and unruly under strangers; thus it was with the Achæans. The soldiers, when Philopæmen was not at their head, grew dejected, and looked about for him; but if he once appeared, they presently recovered their considence and courage, knowing that their enemies could not endure to look him in the face; but, as appeared on several occasions, were frighted with his very name.

Philip, King of Macedon, thinking to terrify the Achæans into subjection again, if he could rid his hands of Philopæmen, fent some persons privately to Argos to affaffinate him. But the treachery coming to light, he became infamous, and mortally hated through all Greece. When the Bœotians were befieging Megara, and were ready to carry the town by ftorm, upon a groundless rumour that Philopæmen was at hand with fuccour, they ran away, and left their scaling-ladders already fastened to the walls. Nabis (who became tyrant of Lacedæmon after the death of Machanidas) had furprifed Messene at a time when Philopæmen was out of command. He tried to perfuade Lyfippus, then general of the Achæans, to fuccour Messene: but not prevailing with him, because he faid the enemy being now within, the place was irrecoverably loft, he refolved to go himfelf, without order or commission, but followed by his own citizens, who went all with him as their general by commission from nature, which has decreed that he should be obeyed, who is fittest to command. Nabis hearing of his coming, though his army lay quartered within the town, would not ftay; but stealing out of the farthest gate with his men, marched away with all the speed he could, thinking himself a happy man if he could get off with safety. He did indeed e-

Tcape, but Messene was rescued.

All that we have related hitherto is honourable to Philopæmen. But when, at the request of the Gortynians he returned again into Crete to command them, at a time when his own country was distressed by Nabis, he was accused either of cowardice, in shunning to fight a dangerous enemy, or elfe of an unfeafonable vanity in courting the praife of foreigners at fuch a time. For the Megalopolitans were then fo preffed, that the enemy having laid wafte their fields, and encamped almost at their gates, they were forced to keep themselves within their walls, and fow their very streets; while he flying from a war at home, and commanding in chief in a foreign nation, furnished his enemies with matter enough for their reproaches. Some faid he accepted the offer of the Gortynians, because the Achæans chose other generals, and left him but a private man; for he could not endure to fit still, but looking upon war and the office of a general as his great business, always coveted to be employed. And this agrees with what he once faid of King Ptolemy. Somebody was praifing him for keeping his army and himfelf in perpetual exercise: And what praise, replied Philopæmen, is it for a king of his years, to be always preparing, and never performing? However, the Megalopolitans thinking themselves betrayed, took it so ill, that they were about to banish him. But the Achæans prevented them by fending their general Aristænetus to Megalopolis, who, though he differed with Philopæmen about affairs of the commonwealth, yet would not fuffer him to be banished. Philopæmen being upon this account out of favour with his citizens, drew

from obeying them, instructing them to say, that from the beginning they were not subject to their taxes, or laws, or any way under their command. In these pretences he openly took their part, and at the same time somented seditions in the city against the Achæans. But these things happened some time after.

While he staid in Crete, in the service of the Gortynians, he made war not like a Peloponnefian or Arcadian, fairly in the open field, but fought the Cretans at their own weapons, and turning their stratagems and tricks against themselves, soon made them fee that they were only like children practifing low and trifling contrivances against a man of real wisdom and experience. Having managed the war with great bravery, and great reputation to himself, he returned into Peloponnesus, where he found Philip beaten by Titus Quintius, and Nabis at war both with the Romans and Achæans. He was prefently chosen general against Nabis; but venturing to fight by fea, feemed to have fplit upon the same rock with Epaminondas, and by a fuccess very different from the general expectation, and his own fame, lost much of his former reputation. As to Epaminondas, indeed some report he was backward with defign, to difgust his countrymen at the fea, left of good foldiers, they should by degrees become, as Plato fays, licentious and corrupt mariners: and therefore he returned from Asia and the islands, without doing any thing confiderable. Whereas Philopæmen thinking his skill in land-service would prevail likewise at sea, only learned what a share experience has in making our courage fuccefsful, and how important it is to be accustomed to those things which we undertake to manage. For he was not only worsted in the fight for want of skill; but having rigged up an old ship, which had been a famous veffel forty years before,

it proved so leaky that all the men on board had like to have been lost. But finding that the enemy, as if he had been driven out of the sea, had, in contempt of him, besieged Gythium, he presently set fail again; and as they did not expect him, being rendered negligent by their late victory, he landed in the night, burnt their camp, and killed a great number of them.

A few days after, as he was marching through fome narrow passes, Nabis came suddenly upon him. The Achæans were difmayed, and in fo ftrait a place, which was feized by the enemy, despaired to get off with fafety. Philopæmen halted, and when he had viewed the ground, made it appear, that the greatest thing in war is skill in drawing up an army. For by advancing only a few paces, and without any confusion or trouble, altering his order according to the nature of the ground, he prefently took away all apprehensions from his men, and then charging, put the enemy to flight. But when he faw they fled not towards the city, but dispersed themselves every where about the country, which was very woody and uneven, and on account of the brooks and ditches was not paffable for horse, he sounded a retreat, and encamped by broad day-light. Then forefeeing the enemy would endeavour to feal in small parties into the city in the dark, he posted strong parties of the Achæans all along the rivulets and hillocks near the walls. Many of Nabis's men fell into their hands; for returning not in a body, but as the chance of flight had disposed of every one, they were caught like birds, ere they could enter into the town.

By these means he was wonderfully beloved; and was also honoured in all the theatres of Greece; but he got the secret ill-will of Titus Flaminius, a man remarkably ambitious. For he thought that a consul of Rome ought to be more honoured by the Achæans, than a man of Arcadia;

efpecially

especially seeing there was no comparison between what he, and what Philopæmen had done for them. For he by one proclamation had reftored liberty to all that part of Greece which had been in subjection to Philip and the Macedonians. After this litus made peace with Nabis, who afterwards was circumvented and flain by the Ætolians. Things being then in confusion at Sparta, Philopæmen laid hold on that occasion, and coming upon the Spartans with his army, prevailed on fome by perfuafion, on others by fear, and at last, brought the whole city over to the Achæans. As it was no small matter for Sparta to become a member of Achæa, he was highly praifed by the Achæans for strengthening the union by the addition of fo great and powerful a city, and obtained good-will from the nobility, even of Sparta itself, who hoped that he would be the friend and defender of their liberty. Wherefore, having raifed a hundred and twenty talents by fale of the house and goods of Nabis, they decreed him the money, and determined to fend fome persons in the name of the city to prefent it. But here the honesty of Philopæmen appeared, as it was, a real uncounterfeited virtue. There was not a man amongst them that would undertake to mention the matter to him, but every one excusing himself from this commission, they gave it at last to Timolaus, with whom Philopæmen had lodged at Sparta. Timolaus came to Megalopolis, and was entertained by Philopæmen; but struck with admiration at his grave manner of discourse, his frugality and integrity, he judged him not a man to be tempted by money, and fo, pretending other business, returned without mentioning a word of the present. He was fent again, and acted just as before. But the third time, with great difficulty, he acquainted Philopæmen with the good-will of the city of Sparta to him. Philopæmen hearkened to him with pleasure, and then - N 2 went

went himself to Sparta, where he advised them not to bribe good men, and their friends, of whose virtue they might be sure without charge to themselves; but to buy off and silence those bad men who were perpetually disquieting the city with their feditious speeches in the senate, or to the people; it being better to bar liberty of speech in enemies, than in friends. Such was Philopæmen's contempt

of money. -

Diophanes being afterwards general of the Achæans, and hearing that the Lacedæmonians were raising new commotions, resolved to chastise them; They on the other fide prepared for war, and embroiled all Peloponnefus. Philopæmen did what he could to appeale Diophanes, and make him fenfible, that at that time, while Antiochus and the Romans with fuch powerful armies were contending in the heart of Greece, it was the duty of a man in his employment to keep a watchful eye over them, and by diffembling and paffing by many injuries to preserve all quiet at home. Diophanes would not be ruled, but joined with Titus, and both together entering Laconia, marched directly to Sparta, Philopæmen was fo provoked, that he did an action not strictly justifiable, but which proceeded from a great and undaunted spirit; for getting into the town himfelf, he, though but a private man, kept out both the conful of Rome and general of Achæa, quieted the diforders in the city, and united it once again to the Achæans.

Yet afterwards when he was general himself, upon some new misdemeanour of the Lacedæmonians, he brought back those who had been banished, put to death, as Polybius writes, eighty, according to Aristocrates, three hundred and fifty citizens, razed the walls, took away a considerable part of their territory, which he gave to the Megalopolitans, forced out of the country, and carried into Achæa, all who had been made free of Sparta

by the tyrants, except three thousand who would not fubmit to banishment. Those he fold for flaves, and with the money, as if to infult over them, built a porch at Megalopolis. Laftly, unworthily trampling upon the Lacedæmonians in their calamities, and even glutting his hatred with a most cruel and unjust action, he abolished the laws of Lycurgus, and forced them to educate their children and youth after the manner of the Achæans. For while they kept to the discipline of Lycurgus, their spirits were haughty and invincible; but now their calamities had given Philopæmen opportunity to cut the finews of their commonwealth afunder, they became humble and fubmiffive. Yet this lasted not long; for applying themselves to the Romans, and getting their confent, they foon threw off their new Achæan customs, and, as much as in so miserable and depraved a condition they could, re-

established their old discipline.

When the war betwixt Antiochus and the Romans broke out in Greece, Philopæmen was a private man. At this he repined extremely, when he faw Antiochus remain idle at Chalcis, where he fpent his time in courtship and gallantry, and where he married a wife very unfuitable to his age; his men in the mean time being difperfed in feveral towns without order and without commanders, and minding nothing but their pleafures. Philopæmen used to fay that he envied the Romans their victory; and that if he had had the fortune to be then in command, he would have furprifed the enemy. and destroyed them all in the taverns. When Antiochus was overcome, the Romans pressed harder upon Greece, and furrounded the Achæans with their power. The leading men in the feveral cities came over to their interest; and it seemed now that heaven had decreed that their power, already great, should become universal, and that the time was at hand when fortune, after all her changes and revolutions.

N 3

revolutions, should at last be immoveably fixed. Philopæmen, in this conjuncture, acted like a good pilot in a storm; sometimes he yielded to the necessity of the times, but generally he continued steady, and used his utmost endeavours to keep all who were considerable, whether for eloquence or riches, firm in the defence of their common liber-

ty.

Aristænetus a Megalopolitan of great credit among the Achæans, but always a favourer of the Romans, faid one day in the fenate, that the Romans were not to be displeased, or refused any thing. Philopæmen heard him with filent indignation; but at last not being able to restrain his passion any longer, he faid to him, And why in fuch hafte, wretched man, to behold an end of Greece? Manius, the Roman conful, after the defeat of Antiochus, moved the Achæans to restorn the banished Lacedæmonians to their country; which motion was fupported by Titus. But Philopæmen opposed it, not for any ill-will to the men, but because he was willing that they should be beholden to him and the Achæans, not to Titus and the Romans; for the next year, when he was general himfelf, he restored them. So impatient was his great spirit of doing any thing at the command of others, and fo prone was his nature to contend with fuperior power.

Being now seventy years of age, and the eighth time general, he was in hopes to pass in quiet, not only the year of his magistracy, but his remaining life. For as diseases are weaker in weaker bodies, the contentious humour of the Grecians abated much with their power. But envious fortune threw him down at the close of his life, like one who with matchless speed runs over all the race, and stumbles at the goal. It is reported, that being in company where one was praised for a great commander, he replied, there was no great account to be made of a man, who had suffered himself to be taken alive

by his enemies. A few days after, news came that Dinocrates a Messenian, a particular enemy to Philopæmen, and for his wickedness and villanies generally hated, had induced the Messenians to revolt from the Achaens, and was about to seize a little place called Colonis. Philopæmen lay then fick of a fever at Argos. Upon the news he hafted away, and reached Megalopolis, which was diftant above four hundred furlongs, in one days. From thence he prefently drew out a choice body of horse, confisting of the chief men of the city, who were in the vigour of their age, and who earnestly defired to accompany him in the expedition, both from their affection to him and from their love of glory. As they marched towards Messene, meeting with Dinocrates about Evander's hill, they charged and routed him. But five hundred fresh men, who had been left for a guard to the country, happening to appear, the flying enemy rallied again about the hills. Philopæmen fearing to be inclosed, and solicitous for his men, retreated over ground extremely difadvantageous, bringing up the rear in person. As he often faced about, and ran upon the enemy, he drew them all upon himself; yet none of them dared to approach near him; they only shouted and wheeled about him at a distance. Being desirous to fave every fingle man, he left his main body so often, that at last he was left himfelf alone amidft a great number of enemies. Yet even then none durst come up to him, but attacking him with their darts at a diffance, they drove him into steep and stony places, where his horse could hardly pass, though he spurred him continually. His age was no hindrance to him, for with perpetual exercise his body was still strong and active. But being weakened with fickness, and tired with his long journey, his horse stumbling, threw him, incumbered with his arms, and faint, upon a hard and rugged piece of ground. His head being grievously bruised with the fall, he lay a while fpeechle

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fpeechless, so that the enemy thinking him dead, began to turn and strip him. But when they saw him lift up his head, and open his eyes, they threw themselves in crouds upon him, bound his hands behind him, and carried him off, insulting, with the most opprobrious language and every kind of indignity, a man who had never so much as dreamed

of being led in triumph by Dinocrates.

The Messenians, wonderfully elated with the news, thronged to the city-gates. But when they faw Philopæmen in a posture so unsuitable to the glory of his great exploits and victories, most of them were struck with grief, and deploring the vanity and inconstancy of human fortune, wept with compassion. Their tears by little and little turned to kind words, and they began to fay that they ought to remember what he had done for them and the common liberty, which, by driving away Nabis, he had preserved. Some few, to make their court to Dinocrates, were for tormenting, and putting him to death, as a dangerous and irreconcileable enemy, who, if once he got loofe, would be still more formidable to Dinocrates who had taken him prisoner, and used him with such indignity. They put him at last into a dungeon under ground, which they called the treasury, a place into which there came no air nor light from without, and which having no doors, was closed with a great stone. Having thrown him in there, and rolled the stone to the mouth of the dungeon, they placed a guard about it, and left him. In the mean time Philopæmen's foldiers recovering themselves after their flight, and fearing he was dead fince he appeared no where, made a ftand, calling him with loud cries, and reproaching one another with their unworthy and shameful escape, and with betraying their general, who, to preserve their lives, had lost his own. After a diligent fearch and inquiry, hearing at last that he was taken, they spread the news through all the towns of Achæa. The Achæans refented the misfortune deeply, and decreed to fend and demand him, and in the mean time drew

their army together for his refcue.

While these things passed in Achæa, Dinocrates fearing that delays would fave Philopæmen, refolved to be beforehand with the Achæans; wherefore, as foon as night had dispersed the multitude, he fent in the executioner with poison; and ordered him not to leave him till he had taken it. Philopæmen was then lying down, wrapt up in his cloak, not fleeping, but oppressed with grief and trouble. When he faw the light, and the man standing by him with the poison, he struggled to sit up, and taking the cup, asked the executioner if he had heard any thing of the horsemen, particularly Lycortas? The man answering, that most of them had got off fafe; he nodded, and looking cheerfully upon him, It is well, faid he, that we are not every way unfortunate. Then, without speaking a word more, he drank off the cup, and lay down. again. His weakness struggling but little with the poison, it dispatched him presently.

The news of his death filled all Achæa with grief and lamentation. The youth, with some of the chief of the feveral cities, met at Megalopolis, with a resolution to take revenge without delay. chofe Lycortas general, and falling upon the Meffenians, committed terrible devastations in their country, till by common confent they yielded to the Achæans. Dinocrates prevented their revengeby killing himfelf. Those who voted for the death. of Philopæmen were put to death by the Achæans, and those who would have had him tormented were feized by Lycortas, and referved for further punishment. Having burnt his body, and put the ashes into an urn, they marched homeward, not in a confused irregular manner, but with a mixture of triumphal and funeral pomp, with crowns of victory on their heads, and tears in their eyes, and attended

attended by their captive enemies in fetters. Polybius, the general's fon, carried the urn, whereof there was hardly any thing to be feen because of the garlands and ribands with which it was covered. The chief of the Achæans marched near to Poly-The foldiers followed; their horfes were folendidly adorned, and themselves completely armed; and, by their countenances, they appeared neither dejected by their loss, nor elated by their victory. The people from all the towns and villages in the way, flocked out to meet him, as if he had been returning from conquest, and faluting and touching the urn, joined the procession and went on to Megalopolis; where when the old men, the women and children were mingled with the rest, the whole city was filled with cries and lamentations for the lofs of Philopæmen, which they looked upon as the period of their authority and pre-eminence among the Achæans. Thus he was honourably buried according to his worth, and the prifoners were stoned to death about the place where his monument was erected.

Many statues were fet up, and many honours decreed him by the feveral cities; all which a certain Roman attempted to remove, who after the deftruction of Corinth profecuted him (as if he had been still alive) as an enemy to the Romans. When the affair was debated, Polybius answered the fycophants at large; and neither Mummius nor his lieutenants would fuffer the honourable monuments of fo great a man to be defaced, though he had often croffed both Titus and Manius. And they diftinguished well, in my opinion, between interest and virtue, between that which is honourable, and that which is profitable; justly thinking that gratitude and reward are due to him who confers a benefit, from him who receives it, and that honour is never to be denied by the good to the good. So much concerning Philopæmen.

THE

## LIFE

OF

## LYSANDER.

IN the treasury of the Acanthii at Delphi, there is this inscription: Brafidas and the Acanthii took this from the Athenians. From hence many are of opinion, that the marble statue within the temple door was defigned for I rafidas; but it is rather Lyfander's, whom it reprefents exactly with his hair in its full growth, and a long comely beard, both after the old I acedæmonian fashion. The origin of this custom is not to be placed so low, as fome people would have it; it not being true, that the Argives shaved themselves for grief, after a great overthrow; and that the partans, on the contrary, flushed with victory, let their hair grow beyond its usual length. Neither can we allow, that because the Pacchiadæ, when they fled from Corinth to Lacedæmon, feemed mean and despicable, upon account of their being shaved, the Lacedæmonians for that reason began to esteem long hair. For this custom may be traced very eafily from I yeurgus, who used to fay, That long bair made handsome m n appear more beautiful to the eye, and the unhandsome more terrible.

It is generally agreed, that Aristoclitus, Lysander's father, though he was not immediately de-

icended.

scended from royal ancestors, was, however, related to the family of the Heraclidæ. As for Lyfander, he was bred up in poverty, and always showed a fingular respect to the discipline and manners of his country. He was brave, and superior to all forts of pleafure, that alone excepted, which arose from the honour and a plause that attend great ac-And to indulge this pleasure was very excufable at Sparta, where their youth were fired with an early defire of glory, taught to be dejected under difgrace, and to be elated by commendation. And he that was infensible of these, was looked upon as one of a mean spirit, and incapable of aspiring to any thing great or manly. Therefore we are not to blame that emulation and thirst after fame, which appeared in the whole course of Lysander's life; it came from his country and education. But the deference which he paid to great men, feems to have been too fervile, and more than became a Spartan; and where his interest was concerned, he bore the frowns of men in authority too patiently. This, however, by some is reckoned no small part of policy.

Aristotle, where he observes that great wits are generally inclined to melancholy, (instancing in Socrates, Plato, and Hercules), fays too, that Lyfander, though not in his youth, was in his declining age subject to it. But that which peculiarly distinguished his character, was the way he had of making poverty fit well upon him, and of keeping his mind steady and untainted in the greatest affluence. For he referved nothing for himself out of all those fpoils of gold and filver which he brought from the Attic war, but liberally difperfed them among his countrymen, who upon this increase of riches began to value them as much as they despised them before. When Dionysius the tyrant would have prefented his daughters with some garments richly embroidered, he refused them, faying, They were fit only

only to make difagreeable faces more remarkable. Afterwards, however, being fent ambassador to the same tyrant, when he offered him two wests, and desired him to make choice of that which he liked best for his daughter, he replied, My daughter knows better how to chuse than I do; and so took them both.

After a long continuance of the Peloponnesian war, when the Athenians had received a great blow in Sicily, and were under great apprehensions of losing all their power at sea, Alcibiades being recalled from banishment, managed the war with such success, that he quickly changed the whole state of affairs, and, after some engagements, made the Athenians equal in naval power to the Lacedæmonians, who now began to be sensible of their dangerous condition, and were resolved to exert themselves more vigorously. They knew this design required greater preparations and a bold commander. They therefore gave the command of the fleet to

Lyfander.

Being arrived at Ephefus, he found that city very well inclined to him, and wholly in the interest of the Lacedæmonians, though at that time in a very unhappy fituation; for it was in danger of being over-run with the barbarous customs of the Perfians, by reason of their frequent commerce with the inhabitants, as it was fituated in the neighbourhood of Lydia, and as the great officers of the king of Persia frequently resided there. Lysander having pitched his camp near the city, commanded all his store-ships to be brought into their harbour, and built a dock for his galleys; and by this means their ports were frequented by merchants, their market-place was full of bufinefs, and their shops had a plentiful trade; fo that this city ought to date from that time its first prospect of the greatness and splendour in which it now flourishes. Lyfander hearing that Cyrus the king's fon was at Sardis, went thither that he might have an interview with tiochus

him, and acquaint him with the treachery of Tifaphernes, who though he had a commission to affift the Lacedæmonians, and to destroy the naval force of the Athenians, upon fome folicitation from Alcibiades (as it was suspected) had acted remissly, and, by neglecting to pay his foldiers, had occasioned the ruin of his fleet. Cyrus was easily perfuaded to believe the truth of this accufation; for he had before an ill opinion of Tisaphernes, and was himself particularly disobliged by him. Lyfander, by these means, and the opportunities he had of being familiar with the young prince, entirely gained his affections, and by his agreeable convertation, and respectful behaviour, engaged him strongly on his side. When Lysander was about to depart, Cyrus, after he had fplendidly entertained him, defired him, not to refuse to make use of his friendship, and affured him whatsoever he asked should be granted. Lysander replied, Since, Cyrus, you express such kindness for me, I beg you would add an obolus to the feamens pay, fo that inflead of three oboli they may receive four. Cyrus was pleased with this generous answer, and made him a present of ten thousand pieces of gold. Lysander employed this fum to increase the wages of the failors, and by this encouragement, in a short time, almost emptied the enemy's fleet; for many of the men were glad to go over to that party where the most money was to be had; and those few that staid behind, behaved with great indifference to their officers, and often mutinied. Though he had thus drained and weakened his adverfaries, he durft not engage them, because Alcibiades, who was their admiral, had the advantage of him in the number of thips, was more experienced, and had been always fuccefsful in whatever enterprise he undertook either by sea or

Alcibiades having occasion to go from Samos to Phocæa, left the fleet under the command of Antiochus,

tiochus, who, to infult and provoke Lyfander, failed with two galleys into the harbour at Ephefus, and impudently passed by his fleet with a great deal of noise and laughter. Lysander resented this open affront, and with two or three ships immediately purfued him; but when he faw fresh supplies come to the relief of Antiochus, he called up more to his affistance, and in a little time the whole fleet was engaged. Lyfander got the victory, took fifteen ships, and fet up a trophy. The people of Athens were highly displeased at Alcibiades, and turned him out of their fervice; who being now very much flighted and cenfured by the foldiers in Samos, left the army, and withdrew into the Thracian Chersonesus. This fight, though not considerable in itself, was made so by the misfortune of Alcibiades.

Lyfander, having collected from various cities a number of resolute and ambitious men, sent them to Ephefus, with instructions to form themselves into companies, and apply themselves to policy and business, upon promise, that as soon as the Athenian government was broken, their democracy should be dissolved, and they should be governors in their respective cities. By this contrivance he fecretly made way for the appointment of Decemviri, and all the other innovations which afterwards fucceeded in those cities: for he kept his word with his friends; and those who had been of fervice to him, he promoted to the highest honours and preferments, by which he in a manner made himself an accomplice with them in all their injuflice and oppression. So that every one endeavoured to ingratiate himself with Lysander; to him only people made their court, promising themselves all that was great or honourable, while the chief power of the republic was lodged in him. Wherefore as foon as he left them, they were very uneafy under his fuccessor Callicratidas; for though his actions.

actions showed him to be the best and most upright of men, yet the people were discontented with his conduct, which favoured too much of what they called Doric plainness and fineerity. It is true, they admired his virtue as men do the beauty of some hero's statue, but their defires all this while were bent upon Lyfander, the lofs of whose favour and benevolence they were fo fenfible of, that fome of them when he departed expressed their concern with tears. - Nay, he drew off their affections vet more from Callicratidas; for he fent back to Cyrusthe refidue of that money he had received from him for the foldiers pay, and faid, Let Callicratidas afk for it himself if he pleases, and let him contrive as well as he can to support his army. And when he was going to fet fail, he faid to him, I have resigned that fleet to you which commands the whole ocean. This arrogant empty boaft, Callicratidas thus reproved. If it be fo, steer with the fleet to the left, and passing by the Athenian navy at Samos, meet me at Miletus, and there resign your command. For if it be that victorious fleet you retresent it, you have nothing to fear from the enemy in your passage. No, replied Lysander, I have done with it now, it is wholly under your conduct; and when he had faid this, he immediately fet fail for l'eloponnesus.

Callicratidas was left in great perplexity; for he had brought no money from home with him, neither could he raife any; for the people had been too much oppressed already, to endure another tax. The only resource he had was to beg supplies, as Lysander had done, from the lieutenants of the king of Persia. And he was the most unqualified of any man for this employ; for he was of so noble and generous a spirit, that he could sooner brook slavery under a Grecian enemy, than bring himself to slatter and caress a Barbarian, who had nothing to value himself upon but his gold. However necessity forced him to Lydia; and when

he came to Cyrus's palace, he bid one of the attendants tell him, that Callicratidas the Spartan admiral was come to wait upon him. The fervant replied, He is not at leifure now, he is drinking. Callicratidas answered with great simplicity, It is very well; I will flay till be has done. The Lydians upon this answer took him for a man void of sense and education. Therefore feeing himself laughed at, and flighted by the Barbarians, he withdrew a while; but upon his return not gaining admission, he refented it fo highly, that he went immediately to Ephefus, reflecting with indignation upon those who first cringed to the Barbarians, and encouraged them to be proud, only because they were rich'; and he protested to some of his friends, that as foon as he arrived at Sparta, he would make it his business to reconcile the differences among the Greeks, render them formidable to the Barbarians. and prevent them from ever accepting affiftance from their hands against one another. These refolutions of Callicratidas were indeed worthy of a Spartan; for in virtue and bravery he was not inferior to the greatest of the Grecians; but he died foon after at the battle of Arginusa, where he was defeated.

The affairs of the confederates being now in a declining condition, they fent an embasily to sparta to desire that Lysander might be chosen admiral, expressing very earnestly the great considence they had of success under his conduct. Cyrus too dispatched letters thither to the same effect. There was a law among the Lacedæmonians that obliged them never to confer that command twice upon the same person; yet, being desirous to gratify their allies, they gave one Aracus the title, but Lysander the power. This gave great satisfaction to the most powerful men in the several cities: for he had long since raised their expectations, and given them hopes, that the democracy should soon be abolish-

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ed, and the whole government devolve upon them. Whoever takes an impartial view of these two generals, will find in Callicratidas an open and fincere carriage, in Lyfander craft and cunning, for he owed most of his fuccess in war to artifice, and never scrupled to prefer interest to honesty; he thought nature had fixed no difference between truth and falsehood, and so made advantage the measure of both. When he was told, it was below the character of one descended from Hercules, to rely upon stratagems in war, he turned it off with a jest, and said, When the lion's strength fails, we must take in the fox's subtilty. He gave a remarkable instance of this disposition at Miletus. For when his friends whom he had promifed to help in subverting the government and ruining their adversaries, had changed their opinions, and come to an agreement with the contrary party, he pretended openly to be much pleased with their proceedings, and to favour the reconciliation; but in private he reproached and upbraided them, and instigated them to make an attack upon the people; and as foon as they had raifed a tumult, he himself came up to the head of them, and in the hearing of the people gave them a fevere reprimand, and threatened to punish them; and then addressing himself to those of the contrary party, bid them not be afraid of any danger while he was present. This treacherous management encouraged those who were most zealous for a popular government to stay in the city, where they were all killed just as he had defigned. Androclides mentions an expression of his which shows that he had little regard to an oath, for he faid, that children were to be cheated with playthings, and men with oaths. In this he followed the example of Polycrates of Samos; though it is inexcusable in a general to imitate a tyrant, and very difagreeable to the character of a Spartan to use his gods even more contemptuously than he does

his enemies; for he that over-reaches his adverfary by a false oath, declares that he fears him, and de-

spifes the gods.

Cyrus having fent for Lyfander to Sardis, furnished him with a large sum of money upon the fpot, and promifed him a great deal more, affuring him, that if his father should refuse to advance any, he would plentifully supply him out of his own fortune, rather than he should want; and when every thing else failed, he would melt down the throne, on which he fat to execute justice, which was all of maffy gold, and filver. And before he left Sardis to attend his father in Media, he affigned him all the customs and revenues of the cities. intrusted him with the government of his province, and taking him in his arms, conjured him not to engage with the Athenians till his return, promifing to bring with him a powerful fleet out of Phœnicia and Cilicia.

When the prince was gone, Lyfander thought he had too few ships to encounter the enemy with, and too many to lie still; he therefore cruifed about fome of the neighbouring islands, and surprised Agina, and Salamin; from whence he steered his courfe to Attica, where he waited upon Agis, who was come down from Decelea to the coast. This gave Lyfander an opportunity of showing the landforces what a powerful navy he had, which made him master of the sea, and enabled him to sail where-ever he pleased. But hearing that the Athenians purfued him, he changed his courfe, and paffed through the islands towards Asia, and finding the Hellespont open without any guard, he attacked Lampfacus by fea, whilft Thorax at the fame time befieged it by land; and as foon as the town was stormed, he gave his foldiers the plunder of it. In the mean while the Athenian fleet, confifting of an hundred and eighty fail, were arrived at Eleus, a city of Cherfonefus, but having intelli-

gence that Lampfacus was taken, they immediately failed to Sestos; whence, after they had taken in provisions, they went to Ægos Potamos, where they were just opposite to the enemy, who still lay at anchor near Lampfacus. Amongst the Athenian commanders Philocles was one, the fame who once perfuaded the people to make an order to cut off the right thumb of every prisoner taken in war, that he might be disabled from managing any weapon, and yet be serviceable to them in handling the oar. The two navies were now in fight, and every body expected an engagement the next morning; but Lyfander had quite other defigns; he commanded all the feamen to go on board, as if they were to fight by break of day, and gave them a strict charge to be in readiness upon the first fignal; he gave the fame orders to the land-forces who lay upon the shore. About fun-rising the Athenian fleet drew up in a line directly before the Lacedæmonians; and gave the challenge; but Lyfander, though his thips had had all their complement aboard the whole night, and stood facing the enemy, would not accept of it, but on the contrary fent orders by his pinnaces to those ships which were in the vani not to ftir, but remain in the fame posture without making the least motion.

Towards the evening, when the Athenians retired, he would not fuffer one man to land till two or three galleys that he had fent to look out were returned, and had reported that they saw the enemy disembark. The same thing was practised the next day, and for three or four days together. This made the Athenians very confident, and prefumptuous; they looked on their enemies with contempt, as a parcel of cowards who durst not quit

their station.

During these transactions Alcibiades who was then in Chersonesus and possessed some fortified places there, came on horseback to the camp of the Athenians. Athenians, and showed to their generals two material overfights. The first was, that they had stationed their ships near a naked shore, without cover, or shelter; the other, that they were at too great a distance from Sestos, from whence they were forced to fetch all their provisions; he reprefented to them that their only way was to fail thither without loss of time, and to remove to a greater distance from the enemy, whose army being under the command of a fingle general, was fo obedient, and fo well disciplined, that at the first fignal they were prepared to put his orders in execu. tion. The Athenian generals flighted thefe reprefentations of Alcibiades; on the contrary Tydeus, who was one of them, told him in a contumelious manner, He was not general, but the power was in other hands. Alcibiades from this answer suspecting

fome treachery, retired.

When he was gone, they offered battle as they had done feveral times before, but to no purpose; Lyfander, when he faw them returning disdainfully and negligently, dispatched some light vessels to observe their motion, and ordered the captains, as foon as ever they faw the Athenians land, to row back, and when they were come half way, to lift up a brazen shield at the head of each ship, upon which fignal he would immediately make up to them. He then gave orders to the officers in the fleet diligently to look after the foldiers and mariners, and take care they should be all ready to run in briskly upon the enemy, at the first fight of the shield. As foon as the fignal appeared, the trumpet from the admiral's galley founded to battle, the thips fet fail, and the landmen marched up along the shore to the promontory. The distance between the two continents was fifteen furlongs; but the feamen were fo eager and industrious, that they foon reached the opposite shore. Conon the general of the Athenians was the first that descried them.

them, and made what hafte he could to get his foldiers on board. He was very fensible of the danger wherewith they were threatened; wherefore some he commanded, some he perfuaded, and others he forced into the ships; but all his endeavours were in vain; his men, not in the least fuspecting any surprise, were dispersed; some were walking in the fields, some were asleep in their tents, some were at dinner, and some were gone to market. All this was owing to the inexperience of the commanders, who neither apprehended nor provided against any danger. When the noise and cries of the Lacedæmonians drew very near, and they were just ready to attack them. Conon made his escape with eight ships to Evagoras King of Cyprus. The Peloponnesians fell upon those that remained, took all that were empty, and attacked and disabled those in which the Athenians were: embarking. Those foldiers that came to the relief of the navy being in great confusion and unarmed, were flain in the attempt. Those who thought to make their escape by flight, were purfued and taken. Lyfander took three thousand prisoners with their commanders, and feized the whole fleet, except the facred galley called Parahis, and those few ships that conveyed Conon to Evagoras. When he had fastened the captive ships to his own, and plundered the enemies camp, he returned to Lampfacus, attended with the found of flutes and fongs of triumph; having performed a great exploit with little labour, and having inone hour, and merely by his own skill and conduct, put an end to a long and tedious war, which had been fo diversified beyond all others with an incredible variety of events, had occasioned so many battles, appeared in fuch different forms, produced fuch viciflitudes of fortune, and destroyed more generals than all the wars in which Greece had ever been engaged. Many therefore imagined that it

it was the effect of a divine interpolition. Some faid that the stars of Castor and Pollux appeared on each fide the helm of Lyfander's fhip, when he failed out of the harbour against the Athenians. Others fancied that a stone, which, according to the common opinion, fell from heaven, was an omen of this overthrow. This stone was of a vast bigness, and fell near Ægos Potamos. The inhabitants of the Cherfonefus hold it in great veneration, and show it to this day. It is faid that Anaxagoras had foretold that one of those bodies which are fixed to the vault of heaven, should one day be loofened by a violent shock or convulsion of the whole machine, and fall to the earth. For he taught that the stars are not now in the same places where they were first formed; that they are of a ftony substance, and heavy, and that the light they give is the effect of the action of the æther; that they are carried along by the rapid motions of the heavens; which, from the beginning, when the cold ponderous bodies were feparated from the other fubstances, hindered them from falling back to the centre.

But some philosophers maintain an opinion more likely and credible than that of Anaxagoras. They hold, that the stars which are seen to fall, are not the emanations of the elementary fire, which go out the very moment they are kindled; nor yet a blaze, or inflammation of a quantity of air bursting out from under a too close compression in the upper region; but that they really are some of those heavenly bodies, which from a momentary relaxation of the rapidity of the motion, or by some irregular concussion, are loosened and fall to the earth, not always upon places inhabited, but generally into the ocean, which is the reason we do not see them.

However, this opinion of Anaxagoras is confirmed by the testimony of Damachus, who in his treatise

treatife of religion tells us, that, for feventy-five days together before the fall of that stone, there was feen in the heavens a large body of fire, not fixed and immoveable, but like an inflamed cloud agitated this way and that by contrary and irregular motions, but so rapid that with the violence thereof feveral fiery fragments were forced from it, impelled some one way and some another, darting like lightning, or fo many falling stars. As foon as this body fell upon the earth, and the inhabitants recovered from their fright had ventured to approach it, they could find no inflammable matter, or the least fign of fire, but a real stone, which though of an extraordinary fize, yet was nothing in comparifon of that fiery body which appeared at first, but feemed no more than a bit as it were crumbled from it. But they must have a good opinion of the veracity of Damachus, who can believe this account. If it be true, it overthrows the affertion of those who tell us that this stone was a great rock rent from the top of fome mountain, and borne for fome time through the air by the violence of the wind, and that it fettled in the first place where that force and violence began to abate. But why may we not conclude that that which appeared for fo many days together was really a globe of fire, and that when it was extinguished and diffipated, it produced a thorough change in the air, and raifed fuch a violent storm or whirlwind as to force this stone from its native station, and carry it to the place where it afterwards fettled? But thefe are subjects proper for writings of another nature.

When the three thousand Athenians, who had been taken prisoners were condemned by the council, Lysander called Philocles one of the Athenian generals, and asked him what punishment he thought that man deserved, who advised his citizens to proceed so severely against the Grecians? Philocles, not at all daunted in his adversity, repli-

ed. Do not bring an accufation against those who have no judge; but fince you are conqueror, use us as we should have used you, if you had been conquered. After this he bathed himself, put on a rich robe, and led on his countrymen to execution, as we are told by

Theophrastus.

Lyfander then vifited all the neighbouring cities, and commanded all the Athenians he found, upon pain of death, to repair to Athens. His defign was, that the city being thus thronged might foon be reduced to famine, and be glad to furrender at discretion, as soon as he opened the siege. Whereever he came he changed the prefent government of the place, and put in a Lacedæmonian as chief, with ten other affiftants. Thus he dealt not only with his enemies, but his allies, and by this means in a manner ingroffed to himfelf the whole empire of Greece. He did not employ the nobility or the wealthy citizens in any part of the government, but put it into the hands of his friends, and of those focieties he had before established, and intrusted them with full power of life and death. Many were executed whilft he was prefent, and he affifted his friends in banishing others who were of the contrary party. This conduct gave the Greeks an ill opinion of the Lacedæmonian government. So that Theopompus the comic poet was grossly mistaken when he compared the Lacedæmonians to vintners, who, when they have for some time entertained their customers with good wine, afterwards give them that which is four; for in this case the draught was four and unpalatable from the beginning; Lyfander having deprived the cities of the management of their own affairs, and committed the government to a small number, and those the most infolent and turbulent of the people.

Having fettled these affairs in a short time, and dispatched messengers to tell the Lacedæmonians, that he was returning to them with two hundred

ships, he went to Attica, where he joined the kings Agis and Paufanias, and feemed to expect the immediate furrender of the city. But when he found that the Athenians made a vigorous defence, he returned into Asia, and made the same alteration in other cities as he had done in those we mentioned before, putting some to death who did not submit to his tyranny, and forcing others to quit their country. He expelled all the natural inhabitants of Samos, and gave the exiles possession of the city. He used the same barbarity to the inhabitants of Sestos, which was then in the hands of the Athenians, and divided both the city and territory among his feamen. The Lacedæmonians were difpleafed at these proceedings, and re-established the Sestians. But in all other respects the Grecians were well fatisfied with Lyfander's conduct; for by his means the Æginetæ were restored to their own cities, of which they had been long dispossessed; the Athenians were also driven out of the cities of the Melians and Scionians, which were restored to the former inhabitants. By this time Lyfander had intelligence that there was a famine in Athens; upon which he failed to the Piræus, and obliged the city to furrender, and to fubmit to whatever terms he demanded.

The Lacedæmonians fay that Lyfander wrote to the magistrates thus, Athens is taken: to which they returned this answer, If it is taken; that is sufficient. But this was a story invented to preserve an appearance of moderation in the Spartan government; for the decree of the Ephori was in these terms: This is the decree of the Lacedæmonian magistrates; Pull down the Piræus, and the long wall; quit all the towns you are now possessed of, and keep yourselves within your own territories; restore the sugitives, and pay such contributions as shall be demanded; we grant you peace upon these conditions. As for the number of ships you are to keep, you must observe the orders we shall give concerning it. When these orders came to the Athenians, they

they submitted to them by the advice of Theramenes the son of Agnon: which made Cleomenes, one the young orators, ask him why he acted contrary to the intention of Themistocles, and gave those walls into the hands of the Lacedæmonians, which he had built in defiance of them. Young man, said he, I am not acting contrary to the sentiments of Themistocles. He raised these walls for the preservation of the city, and I for the very same reason would have them destroyed; and if walls alone secure a city, Sparta, which

bas none, is in a very bad condition.

Lyfander, as foon as all the ships except twelve, and the fortifications of the Athenians were delivered into his hands, made his entrance into the city, on the fixteenth of Munychion [April], the very day on which they had formerly overthrown the Barbarians in the naval fight near Salamin. He began immediately to attempt an alteration in the government; but finding the people more stubborn than he expected, he by his messengers gave them to understand, that they had violated the capitulations; that the walls were yet standing, though the time prescribed for the demolishing of them was expired; and now fince they had broke their first articles, he declared that the consideration of the whole should be reassumed in the council, and new terms should be made. And it is reported that he did really propose in a council of the allies, that the Athenians should be reduced to a state of slavery; and that a Theban commander called Erianthus, at the same time persuaded them to raze the city, and turn the country into pastureground for the grazing of cattle.

Afterwards, however, when all the general officers were met together at an entertainment, a mufician of Phocis began to fing those lines out of the

Electra of Euripides, which begin thus,

Unhappy daughter of the great Atrides, Thy lowly habitation I approach.

This touched them all on a fudden with a fense of compassion, and gave them occasion to reflect. how barbarous it would appear to lay that city in ruins, which had been renowned for the birth and education of fo many famous men. However, Lyfander finding the Athenians entirely at his difcretion, fent for a number of musicians out of the city, and having joined them with those belonging to the camp, he pulled down the walls, and burned the ships, to the found of their instruments; at which his affociates dancing, and crowned with garlands, expressed as much joy as if that day had been the beginning of their liberty. After this, he altered their government, appointed thirty rulers over the city, and ten over the Piræus, placed a strong garrifon in the citadel, and made Callibius, a Spartan, the governour, who upon some occasion offered to strike Autolycus (a famous wrestler, the fame whom Xenophon mentions in his Sympofiacs), who feizing him by the legs threw him upon the ground. Lyfander did not refent this; on the contrary, he reproved Callibius, telling him he was to consider that they were free men, not slaves, over whom he had the government. But foon after, the thirty tyrants, to please Callibius, put Autolycus to death.

Lyfander, when he had fettled these affairs, sailed to I hrace. All the money and presents which he had received (which probably were very considerable, as his power was so great, and he was, in a manner, the sovereign of all Greece) he sent to Lacedæmon by Gylippus, who had been commander of the troops in Sicily. Gylippus cut open the bottom of every bag, and when he had taken a large sum out of each, sewed them up again; but he was not aware, that in every bag there was a bill that gave a particular account of the sum it contained. When he came to Sparta, having first hid under the tiles of his house what he had taken for his

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own use, he delivered up the bags to the magistrates, and showed them the feals. When they examined the money, and found it fall short of the accounts expressed in the bills, they were surprised at the difference; but Gylippus's fervant betrayed the fecret, and told them by way of riddle, that he had observed a great many owls to rooft in the Ceramicus. For most of the coin then bore the impression of an owl in respect to the Athenians. Gylippus having lost his former high reputation with this mean action, was ashamed to appear any more at Lacedæmon.

Some of the wifest among the Spartans, probably upon this occasion, being fensible what an ill influence money had over most mens manners, and how easily the best were corrupted by it, were very warm in their reflections upon Lyfander, and earneftly preffed the magistrates to send away all their treasure of gold and filver, as a destructive evil, though it was alluring. This debate was referred to a council, and a decree was proposed by Sciraphidas, as Theopompus writes, or, according to Ephorus, by Phlogidas, That no money, whether of gold or filver, should be received in Sparta, and that none should pass but the current coin of the country. This coin was of iron dipped in vinegar whilft it was red hot. to make it hard and unmalleable, fo that it might not be applied to any other use. It was besides very heavy, and that which was much in weight, was but little in value, fo that it was very troublefome to carry any confiderable fum. And it is probable that anciently all money was of this kind, and confifted of pieces of iron or brafs, which from their form were called obelifci; whence a certain quantity of small pieces of money was called an obolus, which name is still retained, and fix oboli were called a drachma or handful, that fum being as much as the hand could contain. This party that voted against keeping the money was overpowered P 3

by Lyfander's friends; and at last it was decreed. that it should be employed upon public occasions, and that it should be a capital crime to convert any of it to private uses. But this did not at all answer Lycurgus's defign, who by a fcarcity of money intended to prevent covetousness, which is generally the ill consequence of riches. Now, this was not fo much prevented by forbidding the use of money in private, as it was encouraged by allowing it in public; for what is useful will be valued and admired. And it could not be imagined, that if it was honoured in public, it would be despised in private, or that those who saw that wealth was so advantageous to the state, should think it of no concern to themselves. Nay, it is much more reasonable to conclude, that the common custom of a nation should influence particular men, than that the whole nation should be corrupted by the actions of fome few; for if the whole is diffempered, the parts also must be affected; but if the disorder subsists only in particular parts, it may be corrected and remedied by those which have not yet received the infection. So that this decree, though by the punishment which it threatened, it prevented men from treasuring up money, yet did not prevent, but rather increased their defire of it, and taught them to look upon it as a thing highly valuable and excellent. But these things I have already mentioned in another place.

Lyfander, out of the plunder which he took, erected his own, and feveral of the chief commanders statues in brass at Delphi, and caused two stars
to be made of gold, representing Castor and Pollux,
in the room of those which disappeared some time
before the battle of Leuctra. The galley Cyrus
sent him when he congratulated him upon his victory, which was of gold and ivory, and two cubits
in length, was placed in the treasury of Brasidas,
and the Acanthians; and Alexandrides of Del-

phi in his history, fays, that Lysander deposited there a talent of filver, fifty-two minæ, and eleven staters of his own money; but this is not agreeable to the accounts given of his poverty by all historians.

It must be owned, that never any Lacedæmonian general had so absolute an authority as Lysander, yet his pride and haughtiness of spirit still carried him beyond it; for, as Duris says, he was the first of the Grecians to whom altars were erected, and sacrifices offered as to a god. He was the first that was complimented with songs of triumph, one of which began thus,

To the brave leader of our bands

Begin the fong, which gods inspire;

With tuneful voice, and artful hands:

Io Pæan! touch the lyre!

And the Samians decreed, that the feasts which were celebrated in the honour of Juno, should now be transferred to Lyfander. Chærilus a poet was always one of his retinue, and ready upon all occafions to celebrate his actions. Antilochus presented him with a panegyric in verse, with which he was fo much pleased that he gave him his cap full of There was a great emulation between Antimachus of Colophon, and Niceratus of Heraclea, who should write the best poem in Lysander's praise. The laurel was given to Niceratus; which Antimachus taking ill, suppressed his verses. to, who was then a young man, and an admirer of Antimachus's poetry, defired him to bear this misfortune with more courage, telling him, that ignorance had the same effect upon the intellectual eye, as blindness had upon the corporeal. Aristonous, the mufician, who had fix times won the prize in the Pythian games, openly declared, that if ever he had the fortune to be conqueror once more, he would declare himself Lysander's disciple, or even his slave. This

The ambition of Lyfander was troublefome only to the great, and those of equal rank with himself; but that arrogance, and that violence of temper which attended it, and which were fomented by the flatteries of those who paid their court to him, had a more extensive influence; fo that he was immoderate in the expressions both of his favour and refentment. The governments of cities, with an unlimited and tyrannical power, were the rewards which he bestowed on his friends; and nothing but the death of those who had offended him, was fufficient to gratify his anger. This appears from his behaviour to the Milefians. Those among them who had been zealous in maintaining the rights of the people, concealed themselves for fear of his refentment; and he being afraid they might fecure themselves by slight, solemnly swore, not a man of them should suffer. They relying upon his word appeared again in public; upon which he delivered them up to those of the opposite party, and they were all put to death, to the number of eight hundred. In every city he exercised cruelties of this nature, and no man could be fafe who was fufpected of any inclination to popular government. He did not only facrifice men to his own private caprices, but, with the same barbarity, gratified either the malice or covetousness of his friends. From whence that faying of the Lacedæmonian Eteocles became famous; That Greece could never bear two Lyfanders. Theophrastus tells us, that Archefratus faid the fame thing of Alcibiades; but this was not, ftrictly fpeaking, fo applicable to him. He was indeed vain, infolent, and luxurious, which made him difagreeable; but the fourness and cruelty of Lyfander's temper made him insupportable.

Though the Lacedæmonians paid little regard in general to the complaints that were made against him; yet when Pharnabazus, whose province had been plundered and laid waste by him, sent inform-

had

ers against him to Sparta, the magistrates took this complaint into confideration, and put to death Thorax one of his friends and colleagues, who against the late law was found with filver in his possession; neither were they fatisfied with punishing his accomplices, but commanded him home by their Scytale; the nature and use of which was this. When the magistrates gave their commission to any admiral or general, they took two round pieces of wood, both exactly equal in length and thickness, one they kept themselves, the other was delivered to their officer. These pieces of wood were called Scytalæ; and when they had any thing of moment which they would fecretly convey to him, they cut a long narrow fcroll of parchment, and rolling it about their own staff, one fold close to another, they wrote their business on it; then they took off the parchment, and fent it to the general; he applied it to his own staff, which being just like that of the magistrates, the folds fell in with one another, exactly as they did at the writing, and the characters, which, before it was wrapped up, were totally disjoined, and altogether unintelligible, appeared now very plainly.

Lyfander, who was then in the Hellespont, was flartled at the Scytale, and being most of all afraid of the accusation of Pharnabazus, endeavoured to have a conference with him as soon as possible, hoping by a little discourse to compose all differences between them. When they met, he desired him to give another information to the senate, and to contradict what his messengers had told them before; not knowing that (according to the proverb) he was playing the Cretan with a Cretan. For Pharnabazus, promising to comply with his request, wrote a letter in his presence according to his directions, but had contrived to have another by him, which was to a quite contrary effect; so when they came to seal the letter, he put that upon him which he

had written privately, and which exactly refembled the other. Lyfander returned to Lacedæmon; and attending the magistrates, according to custom, at the palace, he delivered Pharnabazus's letter to them, which he was well affured would take off his greatest accusation; for he knew Pharnabazus was much valued by the Lacedæmonians, as, of all the king of Persia's generals, he affished them with the greatest zeal during the late war. The magistrates having read the letter, showed it to Lysander, who found the proverb true, that not Ulysses only is cun-

ning, and in great confusion left the palace.

Some days after he went to the magistrates, and told them he was obliged to go to Ammon's temple, and offer that facrifice which he had vowed to him before the battle; and it is indeed reported, that Ammon appeared to him in a dream, when he befieged the Aphyteans in Thrace; upon which, as the god had directed, he raised the siege, and bid the Aphyteans facrifice to Ammon; and for the same reason he hastened to sacrifice to the god at his temple in Libya. But it is generally believed, that this was only a pretence, and that the true occasion of his retiring was his fear of the magistrates, and that he chose rather to wander abroad than to be controlled at home; for his haughty spirit could not brook fubmission to any body; like an horse, that after he has been free a great while, and ranged in open pasture, is very unwilling to be confined again to the stable, and submit to his ordinary labour. Ephorus gives another account of his retiring, which I shall mention by and by. Whatever the occasion was, he found it very difficult to obtain leave from the magistrates; and when they had given their consent to his voyage, the kings of Sparta confidering that most of the cities were in the possession of his friends, that he confequently must needs have a great fway among them, and that this made him in effect mafter of all Greece, attempted

to dispossess them, and restore the government to

the people.

These proceedings raised every where new disturbances; and first of all the Athenians having possessed themselves of the castle of Phyle, took arms against the thirty tyrants, and defeated them. Immediately upon this Lyfander returned in great hafte to Sparta, and perfuaded the Lacedæmonians to maintain the oligarchy which he had established, and to repress the forwardness of the people. this end they remitted an hundred talents to the thirty tyrants to enable them to continue the war, and declared Lyfander himfelf chief commander. But the two kings envying his greatness, and being afraid left he should be master of Athens a second time, refolved that one of them should be present in that expedition. Accordingly Paufanias marched into Attica, in appearance to support the tyrants against the people, but in reality to put an end to the war, and prevent Lyfander from having Athens, by means of his friends, once more at his mercy. This defign he compassed very easily; for he brought the Athenians into a good understanding among themselves, composed the tumults, and so put a check upon Lyfander's ambition. However, the Athenians revolting again foon after, the whole blame was charged upon Paufanias. It was faid, that taking out of the people's mouth the curb of the oligarchy, he had by that means made them headstrong, and encouraged them to grow infolent and licentious. At the fame time Lyfander obtained the reputation of an upright man, who never employed his arms either for the gratification of his friends, or his own fame, but purely for the glory of Sparta.

Lyfander's courage and spirit appeared in his expressions, no less than it did in his actions. Once when the Argives contended about their bounds, and thought they could make a better plea than the

Lacedæmonians,

Lacedæmonians, he held out his fword, and faid. He that is master of this will best make out his title. At another time when a Megarean spoke with great boldness in a conversation, he gave him this reprimand, My friend, those words of yours require a place of strength and safety. When the Boeotians stood wavering whether they should engage on his side, or his enemies, he asked them whether they had rather be visited in a friendly or hostile manner. When the Corinthians had deferted the league, he marched to Corinth at the head of his army, in order to affault it; but whilst the Lacedæmonians hesitated, and feemed afraid to begin the attack, a hare happened to start out of the trenches, whereupon he asked them, if they were not ashamed to fear those enemies, whose laziness was such, that the very hares slept under their walls?

After Agis's death, Agefilaus his brother, and -Leotychides his supposed son, were the pretenders to the crown. Lyfander, who had been Agefilaus's lover, perfuaded him to claim his right to the kingdom, as being legitimately descended from Hercules; whereas it was very much suspected that Leotychides was the fon of Alclbiades, who had been observed to be familiar with Agis's wife Timæa, during the time of his exile in Sparta; and Agis computing the time, concluded that he himself could not be the father, and therefore openly difowned him; afterwards, however, when he fell fick, and was carried to Herea, he was prevailed upon by the importunity of the youth himfelf, and of his friends, just before he died, to declare before many witnesses, that Leotychides was his lawful fon; and he defired them to testify these his last words to the Lacedæmoniaus; which accordingly they did. Every body respected Agesilaus as a very deferving man, and ! yfander's interest and authority ferved very much to strengthen his party, fo that he began to think he could not fail, when Diophites, Lacedamionians

favourite.

ophites, a great deal in prophecies, opposed him on account of his lameness, and for that purpose cited the following oracle.

Though proud, O Sparta, yet beware How thou obey'st a limping heir! War and discord without end, Shall on that luckless hour attend; Every labour, every fate, That can waste or sink a state.

Many believed the interretation, and began to fayour Leotychides's party. But Lyfander faid, that Diophites had mistaken the sense of the oracle; that it was not meant that the Lacedæmonians would be unhappy under a lame king, but that they would be a lame people if they fuffered the posterity of Hercules to be governed by illegitimate princes. Having thus put a plaufible construction upon the words of the oracle, and being otherwise one that had a great interest among the people, he prevailed with them to make choice of Agefilaus. As foon as he was fettled in his kingdom, Lyfander preffed him very earnestly to make war upon Asia, putting him in hopes of raifing himself to a great reputation by the conquest of Persia. To further this defign he writ to his friends in Afia, and defired they would petition the Lacedæmonians to give the command of their forces against the Barbarians to Agefilaus. They complied with his request, and fent ambaffadors to Lacedæmon for that purpofe.

Agefilaus thought himself no less obliged to 1 y-fander for this favour, than he had been before for his kingdom. But ambitious spirits, however otherwise qualified for government, are hindered in their way to glory by that envy which they generally bear to their equals; and thus they make those their adversaries, who would otherwise be their partners and affistants in their heroic actions. I hus Agefilaus at first chose Lysander for his particular

favourite, made him one of his council, and confulted him upon all affairs of moment; but when they came into Afia, he having little acquaintance there, the people feldom addreffed themselves to him, but made their greatest court to Lyfander, fome upon the account of a former familiarity and friendship, others out of a servile compliance. Thus, as it often happens in plays, that a chief actor reprefents the part of a fervant or a messenger, yet is much taken notice of, while he that personates the king is hardly heard to speak, and is little regarded by the spectators; so here the counsellor had all that was really valuable in government, and left the king only the empty name of power. Indeed Lyfander ought to have moderated his ambition, and have been contented to act the fecond part. On the other fide, Agefilaus was to be blamed for totally rejecting and difgracing a friend he had been fo much obliged to. For first of all he never gave him any opportunity of appearing with reputation, nor ever put him in any post of command; besides, those for whom Lysander interested himself were fure to miscarry, and were less favoured than even the meanest and most inconsiderable persons; thus all his influence and authority was gradually weakened and destroyed.

Lyfander finding that he was fo unfuccessful in every thing he undertook, and that what he designed as a kindness, was often prejudicial to his friends, desired them to forbear their addresses, and take no public notice of him; but either to speak to the king himself, or to those favourites who had more power than he had at present to preser them. Upon this, many gave him no further trouble with their concerns, but still continued their respects to him, and waited upon him in all places of public resort. This grieved Agesilaus yet more, and aggravated his envy and jealousy. Therefore to show his resentment, when he preserved even common soldiers

to the highest posts in the army, and made them governors of cities, he affronted Lyfander fo far as to make him his carver; and then by way of derifion, and to infult the Ionians, he faid, Let them now go, and make their court to my carver. Lyfander upon this determined to fpeak to the king. discourse was very short and laconic. Indeed, Agestlaus, fays Lyfander, you know very well how to leffen your friends. Yes, fays he, when they affect to be greater than myself; and it is just they should have the greatest share in my power who most endeavour to promote it. Lyfander replied, This is rather what you: say, than what I ever did; but I beg of you, for the fake of those strangers here, who have their eyes upon us, to allow me such a post under you, wherein I may be least suspected, and most useful to you. This favour was granted him, and he was fent ambaffador to the Hellespont: and though he bore a secret grudge to the king, yet that did not hinder him from a very faithful discharge of his duty. He persuaded Mithridates the Persian, who had fallen out with Pharnabazus, to revolt with all the army under his command, and brought him over to Agefilaus: however he was not employed upon any other fervice, but returned in difgrace to Sparta, not only highly incenfed against Agesilaus in particular, but displeased more than ever with the whole frame of the government.

He had long meditated a change in the conflitution, and refolved now to execute his defign as foon as possible. His stratagem was this: The Heraclidæ who were mixed with the Dorians, had formerly settled in Peloponnesus, and their posterity was very numerous and powerful in Sparta. Of these, two families only could claim any right to succession in the kingdom; those were the Eurytiontidæ and the Agiadæ; the rest, notwithstanding their high extraction, had no share in the government on account of their birth. For as to the

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common

common rewards of virtue, they were attainable by all men of distinguished merit. Lyfander was one of this family, and having gained fo great a reputation by his actions, having many friends, and much power, he was uneafy to fee that city which owed its increase chiefly to him, ruled by others no better descended than himself. He therefore was defirous to alter the fettlement which confined the government to two families only, and to give allthe Heraclidæ an equal right to it; nay, fome fay, that he defigned to extend this privilege not to the Heraclidæ only, but to all the Spartans, and to make it a reward not fo much of Hercules's posterity, as of those who bravely imitated that valour which gave him a place among the gods. And he had great hopes that when the kingdom was thus to be disposed of, no Spartan could appear with those advantages that he could. Upon this profpect first he endeavoured by himself to convince the citizens of the reasonableness of this change, and learned by heart an oration which Cleon of Halicarnassus had made for him upon that subject. But when he perceived the difficulties of this undertaking, which was not to be effected by ordinary. means, he had recourse to extraordinary. For as in tragedies, when any thing of great importance is to be effected, the affiftance of some god is made. use of, so he to promote his designs had recourse to oracles, being convinced that Cleon's eloquence would avail but little, unless he could first subdue. and terrify the minds of the people by fuperstition. Ephorus fays, that after he had in vain endeavoured to corrupt the Pythian oracle, and as unfuccefsfully fent Phericles to corrupt the priestesses of Dodona, he went himself to the oracle of Ammon, and offered the priefts large fums of gold; but they with great indignation rejected his bribes, and fent people to accuse him at Sparta. He was, however, acquitted; upon which the Lybians took their leave

leave of the Spartans in this manner; When you come to live among us in Africa, you will find us more impartial judges. For there was an ancient prophecy which foretold that the Lacedæmonians should fome time or other inhabit Africa. The whole stratagem of Lyfander requires a more distinct explication. For it was not an ordinary contrivance, nor built upon flight foundations, but deeply laid from the beginning, and carried on with confummate art and address; so that it may be compared to a mathematical demonstration, in which from fome principles first assumed, the conclusion is regularly deduced through a variety of abstruse and intricate arguments. I shall therefore at large explain it as it is related by Ephorus, a great historian as

well as philosopher.

There was a woman at Pontus who being with child, pretended Apollo was the father. Many with a great deal of reason suspected it, others were fo credulous as to believe it. Wherefore when fhe came to be delivered of a fon, feveral perfons of the greatest quality in the country took peculiar care of its education, and for some reason or other gave it the name of Silenus. Lyfander taking hold of this occurrence, made it the ground of his whole stratagem, and chose such considents to affist him in it, whose character might bring the story into reputation without the least suspicion of forgery. To make the best advantage of this, they spread abroad among the Spartans another flory, that there were very ancient oracles closely concealed in the custody of the priests at Delphi, and it was upon record, that they were not to be profuned by vulgar hands, neither was it lawful for any man to read them, till in some future age one should arise who could manifestly prove himself the son of Apollo, and challenge to bimself the interpretation of these mysteries. When the credit of this report was established among the people, Silenus was to come and demand the prerogative of his birth. Those OF

of the priefts who were confederates in this plot, were strictly to examine into every circumstance of his nativity, and afterwards being fully convinced that he was the true fon of Apollo, were to deliver up their charge to him: he then was to read in public all those oracles, especially that relating to the government of Sparta, for the fake of which the whole plot had been contrived, and wherein it was to be declared, that it would be more for the honour and interest of Sparta to break the present succession, and for the future to chuse their kings out of the most deferving men in the commonwealth. But when Silenus was grown up, and every thing ready for action, the whole business miscarried by the cowardice of one that was an agent in it, whose heart failed him just at the time of execution. However nothing of

this was discovered while Lyfander lived.

He died before Agefilaus returned out of Afia, after having embarked his country in a war against the Bœotians, or rather involved all Greece in it; for the thing is related both ways, fome laying the blame upon him, others upon the Thebans; and others charge them both with it. To the Thebans it is objected, that they overturned the altar, and profaned the facrifice Agefilaus was offering in the town of Aulis, and that Androclidas and Amphitheus having been corrupted by the king of Persia, they attacked the Phocians, and laid waste their country, to draw upon the Lacedæmonians this confederate war of the Grecians. They who make Lyfander the author of this war, fay he was offended that the Thebans alone, of all the confederates, should lay claim to a tenth of the spoils taken from the Athenians at Decelea, and complain of his fending the money to Sparta. But what provoked him most against the Thebans was, that they should be the first to furnish the Athenians with means to deliver themselves from the thirty tyrants whom he had established at Athens, and for

for supporting of whom the Lacedæmonians had published a decree, that those who fled out of Athens should be apprehended where-ever they should be found, and forced back into the city; and that whoever endeavoured to rescue them, should be treated as enemies to Sparta. The Thebans gave out a counter-order to this. decree, which was generous and becoming the posterity of Hercules and Bacchus; for they proclaimed, that every house and city in Bæotia should be open and free for any Athenian that defired protection; and that whoever did not affift a fugitive who was feized, should be fined a talent; that besides, if any one should march armed through Bæotia to the relief of the Athenians, he should find a safe passage, without being in the least molested. Neither did they stop here; for as their decree was hospitable and friendly, so their actions were agreeable to it. For Thrafybulus with feveral other fugitives was fo far aided by them fecretly, with money and arms, that he made an affault upon the caftle of Phyle, and poffeffed himfelf of it. These were the grounds of Lysander's refentment against the Thebans. He was naturally prone to anger, and the fretfulness attendant on old age now rendered his passion more violent. He therefore importuned the magistrates to employ him against the Thebans; accordingly he marched out with an army under his command, and Paufanias followed him with another. Paufanias went round by Cithæron, with a defign to invade Bœotia: Lyfander paffed through Phocis in order to meet him; and as he marched along, he took by furren der the city of the Orchomenians, stormed Lebadia, and plundered it. From thence he fent letters to Paufanias, bidding him remove from Platææ and make hafte to join forces with him at Haliartus, where he himself would certainly meet him by break of day. These letters fell into the hands of the enemy, the meffenger having been taken by fome of the Theban fcouts. Upon opening them they intrusted their city with the Athenians, who were

were come to their affistance; then fallying out at the first watch they arrived at Haliartus, and put part of their forces into the city, just before Lyfander was come up with his. Lyfander had at first resolved to pitch his tents upon the side of an hill, and wait for Pausanias; but day drawing on, he grew impatient, and led his soldiers out in a direct line along the road to the walls of the

city.

There is a fountain called Ciffusa, in which, they fay, Bacchus was washed immediately after his birth; for the water appears like wine, is of a bright colour, and a pleafant tafte. Not far off grow the Cretan canes, of which javelins are made, by which the Haliartians guess Rhadamanthus dwelt there, and the rather because his fepulchre too, which they call Alea, is feen in this place. The monument of Alcmena is hard by, where they pretend she was buried; and they fay that after Amphitryon's death she married Rhadamanthus. It was hereabout that those Thebans, who had not entered Haliartus were placed, having the city on their left hand; and from hence they fell upon the enemy's rear. In the mean time, those within the city drew up in order of battle together with the Haliartians, and for some time remained quiet: but as foon as Lyfander appeared with his vanguard before the gates, they rushed out, killed him, and a foothfayer that attended him, with fome few more; for the greater part made their escape to the main army, but the Thebans purfued them fo closely that they all foon dispersed and fled to the hills. A thousand of them were killed in this pursuit, and three hundred of the Thebans fell by chafing them too rashly into craggy and dangerous places. These three hundred had been fuspected of corresponding with the Lacedæmonians, which made them fo rath and desperate; they being resolved to wipe off this difgrace, though with the loss of their lives. The news of this defeat came to Paufanias, in his march from

from Platææ to Thespiæ. He presently put his army in order, and marched towards Haliartus, where about the fame time Thrafybulus was arrived with a party of the Athenians under his command. Paufanias would have articled with them upon terms for the dead; but the more aged among the Spartans in the army could not think of it; they murmured at it among themselves, and at last went all together to the king, telling him, Lyfander's body was not to be redeemed by conditions, but by arms; that if they conquered, they might then carry it off honourably; if they happened to be overcome themselves, it would however be glorious to die upon the spot with their commander. Paufanias, however, faw it was too difficult a matter to conquer the Thebans, who were just now flushed with victory; besides, if this could have been done, the body lay fo near the walls, that it could not eafily be borne off without a truce; he therefore immediately dispatched an herald, obtained a treaty, carried off the dead, and retired with his army. As foon as they had paffed the confines of Bœotia, they interred Lyfander in the territories of the Panopæans, the friends and confederates of the Spartans. His monument is still to be seen in the road from Delphi to Chæronea, where the Lacedæmonians for fome time took up their quarters. While they staid there, one of the Phocians giving an account of the battle to a friend of his who had not been present at it, said, The enemy fell upon them, after Lyfander had passed Hoplites. A Spartan, Lyfander's friend, that stood by, asked him what he meant by Hoplites, for he had never heard of the name before; I mean the place, faid the Phocian, where the enemy cut off our vanguard; the river that runs under the walls of the city is called Hoplites. The Spartan immediately wept, and broke out into this expression, How unavoidable are the decrees of fate! For it feems the oracle had pronounced these verses to Lyfander; Hoplites'

Hoplites' roaring torrent fly,

Nor less the earth-born dragon fear;
Inevitable fate is nigh,

When he attacks thee in the rear.

Some indeed fay, Hoplites does not run to Haliartus, but is a river near Coronea, which mixed with the river Phliarus passes along to that city. It was formerly called Hoplias, but now it is known by the name of Isomantus. The person who killed Lysander was an officer of Haliartus, called Neochorus, and bore a dragon in his shield, and it is probable that this was the thing signified by the oracle.

It is reported, that, during the Peloponnesian war, the Thebans also received an oracle from Apollo Ismenius, which foretold the battle at Delium, and this at Haliartus, though this happened thirty years after. The oracle runs thus:

Avoid, when eager in the chace you run,
The confines where the savage wolf is found;
Let caution check your hasty steps; and shun
That den of foxes, the Orchalian ground.

The country about Delium he calls the confines where Bœotia borders upon Attica; by the Orchalian ground, is meant a hill now called Alopecus, on that fide of Helicon which looks towards Haliartus.

The Lacedæmonians looked upon Paufanias's proceedings as so dishonourable to a Spartan general, that they would have tried him for his life; but he not venturing to appear, fled to Tegea, where he devoted himself to a recluse life in the temple of Minerva.

Lyfander's poverty, which was discovered at his death, made his virtue more admired, when it appeared that notwithstanding he had so much wealth at his command, and such absolute authority over

so many cities, he had not all increased the wealth of his own family. This is observed by Theopompus, whom we may fooner believe when he commends, than when he finds fault, for he is more apt to discommend than to praise. Ephorus says, that upon some dispute afterwards between the confederates with Sparta, when Lyfander's writings were to be examined, Agefilaus was ordered to make the fearch, who found a discourse of Lyfander's concerning the government, where he endeavoured to show how advantageous it would be to the commonwealth, if the right of fuccession, which the family of the Eurytiontidæ and Agiadæ pretended to, was broke, and the kingdom made elective; this discourse Agesilaus designed to publish, and discover by that means to the people the real character of Lyfander. But Lacraditas, a wife man, and at that time prefident of the Ephori, prevented him, telling him, It would be dishonourable to disturb Lysander now at rest in his grave; and that he ought rather to bury that discourse with him, fince it was written in a very artful and persuasive manner.

The Spartans bestowed many honours on him after his death; amongst which this was none of the least; there were some who had engaged themfelves to Lyfander's daughters, while they thought him rich; but when they faw how poor he died, through his honesty, they broke off the contract. These, in respect to Lylander's memory, the Spartans feverely fined: for there was, it feems, in Sparta, a law which punished as well those that broke off, or deferred a promifed marriage, as those who engaged in an ill one; and this law was levelled at those chiefly who endeavoured to marry into rich, rather than good families. Thus we have faithfully related all the remarkable paffages we could gather relating to the life of Lyfander.

# LIFE

OF

## CIMON.

Peripoltas the diviner, who brought King Opheltas and those under his command from Thessay into Bootia, left behind him a family which shourished for many generations. Most of his descendents inhabited Choronea, which was the first city wherein they settled after they had expelled the Barbarians. But as they were all of them men of courage and warlike inclinations, they fell in the wars against the Medes, and the encounters with the Gauls, behaving themselves on all occasions

with undaunted courage and refolution.

There was left one orphan of this house, called Damon, surnamed Peripoltas, for beauty and greatness of spirit surpassing all of his age, but of a sierce and untractable temper. When he was pass the years of childhood, a Roman captain of a cohort that wintered in Chæronea, fell in love with him; but as he could not obtain his infamous desires, either by gifts or entreaties, it was much feared that he would proceed to violence. The suspicion was made more probable by the contemptible condition of Chæronea, which was then extremely weak and poor. Damon being apprehensive of further injury, and resenting the attempts that had been

been already made, determined to kill the officer. Accordingly he engaged fifteen of his companions to join with him; for he would not communicate his defign to a greater number, left it might be difcovered. They having daubed their faces with foot in the night-time, and having drank largely, fell upon the officer by break of day, as he was facrificing in the market-place; and having killed him, and not a few of those that were him, they fled out of the city, which was extremely alarmed and troubled at the marder. The council affembled immediately, and pronounced fentence of death against Damon and all his accomplices. This they did to justify the city to the Romans. But, that evening, as the magistrates were at supper together, according to custom, Damon and his confederates breaking into the room, killed them all, and then again fled out of the town. About this time, Lucius Lucullus paffed that way with his forces upon fome expedition; and this difaster having but newly happened, he staid to examine the matter. Upon inquiry he found the citizens were not in fault, but rather that they themselves had been sufferers; therefore he drew out the foldiers, and carried them away with him. Yet Damon continuing to ravage the country all about, the citizens by meffages and decrees, in appearance favourable, enticed him into the city, and upon his return made him gymnafiarch, or mafter of the exercises; but afterward as he was anointing himfelf with oil in a bath, they fet upon him and killed him. For a long while after apparitions were feen, and lamentable groans heard in that place, (as our fathers have told us), for which reason the gates of the bath were ordered to be closed up: and even to this day those who live near that place, affirm, that they fometimes fee the fame spectres, and hear the same lamentations. The posterity of that family (of which fome

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fome remain in the country of Phocis, near the city of Stiris), are called, according to the Æolic dialect, Afbolomenos, that is, men daubed with foot; because Damon was besmeared with soot when he committed that murder.

But there being a quarrel betwixt the Chæroneans and the Orchomenians, who bordered upon them, the Orchomenians hired an informer, a Roman, to accuse the community of Chæronea, as if it had been a fingle person, of the murder which Damon had committed. Accordingly the process was formed, and the cause pleaded before the prætor of Macedon; for as yet the Romans had not fent prætors into Greece. The advocates for the inhabitants appealed to the testimony of Lucullus, who, in answer to a letter the prætor wrote to him, returned a true account of the matter of fact. By this means the city was cleared of the accufation, when in danger of utter destruction. The citizens who were then preferred, erected a statue to Lucullus in the forum, next to that of the god Bacchus. We also have the same fentiments of gratitude, and though removed at the distance of several generations, think ourselves partakers of this benefit. And as, in our opinion, the description of the character and manners exhibits a nobler image of a man, than that which represents the form of his body and the features of his face, we shall add the life of Lucullus to those of other illustrious men, and still adhere strictly to the truth. It is fufficient to show that we preferve a grateful remembrance of his kindness: and he himself would not expect, that we should recompense that service which consisted in speaking the truth with a false and counterfeit narration. For as we chuse that a painter who is to draw a beautiful face, in which there is yet some imperfection, should neither wholly leave out, nor entirely express what is faulty, because this would deform it,

and that spoil the resemblance; so since it is very hard, or rather impossible, to find a man whose life is wholly free from blemish, let us in the same manner follow truth, describing fully whatever is commendable; and if any errors occur, which have been occasioned by the emotions of a sudden passion, or the necessity of the times, let us look upon them rather as defects of virtue, than as vices, and carry the pencil gently over them, out of respect to human nature, which never formed a beautiful object that was complete and faultless, nor a virtuous character that was entirely free from blame. Considering with myself to whom I should compare Lucullus, I find none so exactly his parallel as Cimon.

They were both valiant in war, fuccessful against the Barbarians, mild in their political administration. Both extinguished the civil broils at home, and gained fignal victories abroad. For no Greek before Cimon, nor Roman before Lucullus, ever carried the scene of war so far from their own country, unless we except the exploits of Bacchus and Hercules, those of Perseus against the Ethiopians, Medes, and Armenians, and the actions of Jason, if any memorials of these that deserve credit are preserved to our days. They were alike too in this, that they finished not the enterprises they undertook; they brought their enemies near their ruin, but never entirely defeated them. There was yet a greater conformity in their generofity and hospitality, and in the fplendour and magnificence of their tables. We may perhaps have omitted fome other circumstances of resemblance; but it will be easy to observe them in the following relation.

Cimon was the fon of Miltiades and Hegyfipyle, who was by birth a Thracian, and daughter to King Olorus; this appears from the poems of Melanthius and Archelaus, which they both wrote in praise of Cimon. So that the historian Thucy-

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dides was his kimman by the mother's fide; for his father's name was also Olorus; he possessed some mines of gold in Thrace, and was killed in Scaptefula, a district of Thrace. His bones were afterwards brought into Attica, and his monument is shown amongst those of the family of Cimon, near the tomb of Elpinice, Cimon's fifter. But Thucydides was of the ward of Alimus, and Miluades of that of Lacia. Miltiades being condemned in a fine of fifty talents to the state, and unable to pay it, was cast into prison, and there died. Cimon was left an orphan very young, with his fifter Elpinice, who was also young and unmarried. At first he had no reputation, being looked upon as riotous and diffolute; nay he was compared to his grandfather Cimon, who for his flupidity was called Coalemos, (the idiot). Stefimbrotus of Thafus, who lived about the fame time with Cimon, reports of him, that he never learned music, nor ever acquired any of those polite accomplishments so much esteemed in Greece; that he had not the least spark of Attic wit and pleasantry; but that his disposition was open, generous, and sincere, so that he feemed more like a native of Peloponnesus than an Athenian, being fuch an one as Euripides defcribes Hercules.

### Rough and unbred, but form'd for great designs.

For this character may well agree with that which Stefimbrotus has given of him. They accuse him in his younger years of an incestuous commerce with his own sister Elpinice, who otherwise had no great reputation for chastity, she having been intimate with Polygnotus the painter. For when he painted the Trojan dames in the porch then called Peisinaction, now Pacile, he drew Laodice in the form of Elpinice. He was not an ordinary artist who was paid for his work, but generously gave his labours to the city. This all the historians report

port of him, and the poet Melanthius particularly in these verses:

These forms of gods and heroes which we view, His bounty gave, his matchless pencil drew.

Some affirm, that Elpinice's familiarities with her brother were not private and criminal, but that she lived publicly with him, and was really his wife: for as she had but a small fortune, she could not meet with a husband suitable to her birth. But afterwards when Callias, one of the richest men in Athens, fell in love with her, and offered to pay the mulct the father was condemned in, if he could obtain the daughter in marriage, Cimon accepted the condition, and betrothed her to Callias. It plainly appears, that Cimon was of an amorous complexion: for Melanthius in his elegies facetiously rallies him for his mistresses, one of whom was called Mnestra, and the other was Aristeria of Salamin; and these, the poet says, he was very fond of. However, this is certain, that he loved his wife Isodice very passionately; she was the daughter of Euryptolemus the fon of Megacles. Her death he regretted even to impatience, as appears by the elegies. of condolence addressed to him upon his loss of her. The philosopher Panætius is of opinion, that Archelaus was the author of those elegies; and indeed the time feems to favour that conjecture.

Every other part of Cimon's character was great and admirable. For as he was as daring as Miltiades, and not at all inferior to Themistocles for judgment, so he was confessedly more just and honest than either of them. As he was equal to them in discharging all the functions of a general; so in the political part of government, he very far excelled them; and this too when he was very young, before he had any experience in military affaris. For when Themistocles, upon the invasion of the Medes, advised the Athenians to forsake their town and

the country about it, and to carry all their arms on shipboard, and in the straits of Salamin dispute the dominion of the fea with their enemies, every one elfe stood amazed at the rashness of this advice; Cimon only was not at all furprifed, but cheerfully passed through the Ceramicus, attended by his comrades, towards the castle, carrying a bridle in his hand to offer to the goddess Minerva; by this intimating, that there was no need of horsemen now, but of mariners. After he had paid his devotions to the goddess, and offered up the bridle, he took down the bucklers that hung upon the walls of the temple, and fo went down to the port. By this example he encouraged and animated many of the citizens. He was handsome in his person, his stature was tall, and his hair was thick and curled. After he had acquitted himself bravely in this battle of Salamin, he foon gained the efteem and affection of the Athenians; fo that they were continually inflaming him with emulation, and animating him to perform deeds as famous as that of Marathon. The people were very glad when they faw him apply himself to affairs of state; and they advanced him to the highest employments in the government, both because they were disgusted with Themistocles, and because they were charmed with the mildness and candour of Cimon's temper. Ariftides the fon of Lysimachus contributed not a little to his promotion; for observing the goodness and integrity of his disposition, he purposely raised him, that he might be a counterpoise to the crafty and resolute Themistocles.

When the Medes were driven out of Greece, Cimon was appointed commander of the fleet. The Athenians had not yet attained the chief authority in Greece, but were under the direction of Paufanias and the Lacedæmonians. Cimon, therefore, first of all encouraged his citizens to distin-

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guish themselves by their good discipline and by their valour. And afterwards when Pausanias, having formed a defign to betray the Grecians, held conferences with the Barbarians, and wrote letters to the king of Perfia, and was besides so extravagantly elated with his authority, that he treated the allies with insupportable insolence and severity, Cimon, by affording protection to those who had been injured by him, robbed him of that authority which he had among the Greeks, before he was aware. This he did not by open violence, but by affability and humanity. So that many of the allies being no longer able to endure the oppressive and insolent behaviour of Paufanias, revolted from him to Cimon and Aristides; who, having gained fuch a party from him, fent meffengers to the Ephori of Sparta, defiring them to recall a man who was a dishonour to Sparta and a trouble to all Greece.

They report of Paufanias, that when he was in Byzantium he folicited a young lady of a noble family in the city, whose name was Cleonice. Her parents dreading his cruelty, were forced to confent, and abandoned their daughter to his embraces. Cleonice had commanded the fervants to put out all the lights; fo that approaching filently, and in the dark towards his bed, she stumbled upon the lamp that was extinguished, which she overturned and spilled. Paufanias, who was fallen afleep, awaked, and ftartled with the noise, thought an affassin was come to murder him; and hastily fnatching up his poniard that lay by him, he wounded his supposed enemy to death. After this his mind was never at ease; for her spectre continually haunted his bed, and interrupted his repose with these angry

words :

Go meet thy doom, the just reward of guilt; Know, vengeance never sleeps when blood is spilt.

All the allies looked on this action with the greatest

greatest indignation; and joining their forces with Cimon's, they besieged Pausanias in Byzantium. But he escaped out of their hands, and being still terrified by the vision, went to Heraclea. In this place there was a temple where the spirits of the dead were raised, in order to discover future events. Having solemnly invoked Cleonice, and entreated her to be reconciled, she appeared to him, and answered him in these words; As soon as thou comest to Sparta, thou shalt be freed from all thy missortunes; hereby obscurely sovetelling (in my opinion) the death which there attended him. This story is

related by many writers.

Cimon strengthened with this accession of the allies, failed with his army to Thrace: for he was told that fome great men among the Perfians, of the king's kindred, having possessed themselves of Eïon, a town fituated upon the river Strymon, infested the Greeks who bordered upon them. First, he defeated those Persians, and shut them up within the walls of their town. Then he fell upon the Thracians themselves, in the adjacent country, from whence the town of hion was fupplied with provisions. He drove them entirely out of the country, and took possession of it himself. By this means he reduced the belieged to fuch straits, that Butes, who commanded there for the king, in despair set fire to the town, and burned himself, his goods, and his friends, in one common flame. By this means Cimon got the town, but no great booty; for these Barbarians not only confumed themselves in the fire, but the richest of their However, he gave the country about moveables. it to the Athenians, it being a pleasant and fruitful foil. For this action the people permitted him to erect stone images of Mercury; upon the first of which was this infeription:

What honours shall we pay, what trophies raise, (The sacred guardians of the hero's praise),

To those brave warriors, who at Strymon's flood In close array the hardy Mede withstood! In vain the vanquish'd from the victor fled, Behind Eion's walls to hide his head; Thither new terrors did the rout pursue, And those the sword had spar'd, fell famine slew.

#### Upon the fecond was this:

These monuments of never-dying same From Athens her victorious heroes claim. These may her sons in after-ages view, And strive their great foresathers to outdo.

### This was the infeription of the third:

Mnestheus from hence led forth his chosen band, And wav'd his banners high in hostile land. Mnestheus, as Homer sings, did all excel In ordering troops, and ranging battles well.

From him his low'd Athenians learn'd the art, To them his knowledge did the prince impart. They, best of any, can the ranks prepare, And form the squadrons for the doubtful war.

Though the name of Cimon is not mentioned in these inscriptions, yet his contemporaries all affert that they relate to him, and diftinguish him with a peculiar honour. For Miltiades and Themistocles could never obtain the like. And when Miltiades defired a crown of olive, one Sophanes, who was of the ward of Decelea, stood up in the midst of the affembly, and spoke these words, which were much applauded by the populace, though the fentiment was very unjust and ungrateful; When thou shalt conquer alone, Miltiades, thou shalt be honoured a. lone. What then induced them so particularly to honour Cimon? It was certainly this, that under other commanders they stood upon the defensive; but, by his conduct, they not only repulsed their enemies, but invaded them in their own country. Thus

Thus they became masters of Eion and Amphipolis, where they planted colonies: and afterwards they fent a colony likewise into the island of Scyros, which Cimon took after this manner. The Dolopians were the inhabitants of this island, a people who neglected husbandry, and had long been remarkable for piracy; and at last they rifled even those that brought merchandise into their own ports. For some merchants of Theffaly putting into their port of Ctesium, they seized their goods, and confined their persons. But they breaking out of prifon, went and demanded justice of the Amphictyons, who condemned the island to pay a fine. The people thinking it unreasonable that it should be paid by the public, required those to pay it who had enriched themselves by the plunder; they fearing they should be obliged to restore what they had taken, wrote to Cimon inviting him to come with his fleet, and declaring themselves ready to deliver the town into his hands. Cimon having by these means taken the town, expelled those Dolopian pirates, and opened the traffic of the Ægean sea. After this, hearing that Theseus the son of Ægeus, when he fled from Athens, took refuge in this island, and was there slain by King Lycomedes upon certain suspicions, he endeavoured to find out where he was buried. For the oracle had not long before commanded the Athenians to bring home his ashes, and to honour him as an hero. could not however learn where he was interred; for the people of Scyros diffembled the knowledge of it, and would not allow them to fearch. But at length after diligent inquiry Cimon found out the tomb; he then carried the relics into his own galley, and with great pomp brought them to Athens, eight hundred years after Theseus left that country. This action much endeared Cimon to the people. And to fignalize the memory of it, they appointed that celebrated contest betwixt the two

two tragedians, Æschylus and Sophocles. For the latter having exhibited his first play, when he was very young, the applause of the theatre was divided, and the spectators sided into parties. termine this, Aphepfion, who was at that time Archon, would not cast lots who should be judges. But when Cimon, and the other commanders with him came into the theatre, after they had performed the usual rites to the god of the festival, the Archon would not fuffer them to depart, but made them fwear (being ten in all, one from each tribe) to give their judgments in this contention. Both fides ambitiously strove who should get the suffrages of fuch honourable judges; but the victory was at last adjudged to Sophocles. This so mortified Æschylus, that in a short time he left Athens, and went to Sicily, where he died of discontent, and was

buried near the city of Gela.

Ion reports, that when he was a young man, and newly returned from Chios to Athens, he chanced to fup with Cimon at Laomedon's house. After fupper, when they had, according to cuftom, poured out wine to the honour of the gods, Cimon was defired to fing. Having fung very agreeably, he was complimented by the company, as being more polite than Themistocles, who being entreated upon fuch an occasion to fing, answered, That he could not fing, nor play upon the barp, but that he knew how to make a city great and wealthy. The conversation then naturally turning upon the actions of Cimon, after the most considerable of them had been mentioned, he told the company that they had omitted one, upon which he valued himself most for address and contrivance. He gave this account of it. When the Athenians and their allies had taken a great number of the Barbarians prisoners in Seftos and Byzantium, and defired him to divide the booty, he put the prisoners in one lot, and all the rich ornaments of their drefs in the other. This the

the allies complained of as an unequal division: therefore he gave them their choice to take which lot they would, faying that the Athenians would be content with that which they refused. One Herophytus of Samos advised them to take the ornaments for their share, and leave the flaves to the Athenians. Upon this Cimon was laughed at for his ridiculous division: for the allies carried away the gold chains, bracelets, and purple robes, and the Athenians had only the naked bodies of the captives, which were little inured to labour. But in a short time after, the friends and kinsmen of the prisoners coming from Lydia and Phrygia, redeemed them all at a very high ranfom. means Cimon got fo much treasure, that he maintained his whole fleet with the money for four months; and yet there was a confiderable fum left

to lay up in the treasury at Athens.

Cimon being now grown rich, what he gained honourably from the Barbarians, he fpent still more honourably upon the citizens. For he pulled down the inclosures of his gardens and grounds, that all travellers, but his citizens especially, might freely gather the fruits. At home he kept a table that was not furnished indeed with great delicacies, but where there were provisions fufficient for a great number of guests. Here the poor townsmen had a constant and easy access, so that they had leisure to attend to their public duties, from which otherwise they would have been diffracted by feeking after a fublistence. But Aristotle reports, that he was partial in his reception, and that it did not extend to all the Athenians, but only to those of the ward of Lacia. He always went attended with a number of young men of his acquaintance very well clad, and if he met with an elderly citizen in a poor habit, he ordered one of his retinue to change cloaths with him; and he' that received this mark of his kindness, thought himself highly honoured. He ' injoined

injoined his attendants likewise to carry a considerable quantity of money about them; and when in the streets they met with any necessitous person of a decent appearance, they privately conveyed some pieces of money into his hand. To these things Cratinus the poet seems to allude in his comedy called Archilochi.

Even I Metrobius by name,
Who barely boast a scriv'ner's same,
Suppos'd, let things go how they wou'd,
That Cimon, generous, great, and good,
Cimon, the first of Greeks, and then
Beyond dispute the first of men,
Cimon above all mortal praise,
Would aid me in my latest days.
But sate snatch'd him, (sure fate is blind),
And left me starving here behind.

Gorgias the Leontine gives him this character, He got riches that he might use them, and so used them as to gain himself credit by them. And Critias one of the thirty tyrants of Athens, when in his elegies he is expressing the utmost extent of his wishes, says,

I'd ask for Scopas' wealth, and Cimon's soul; Agestlaus' success should crown the whole.

Lichas the Spartan, we know, became famous in Greece, only because on the days of the sports, when the young lads run naked, he used to entertain the strangers that came to see these diversions. But Cimon surpassed all the ancient Athenians for hospitality and good nature. For though the Athenians justly boast that their ancestors taught the rest of Greece the method of sowing corn, and the use of fire and water: yet Cimon, by keeping open house, and giving travellers liberty to eat all his fruits, which the several seasons afforded, seemed to restore to the world that community of goods which the poets tell us was maintained in the reign

of Saturn. Those who object to him, that he did this to be popular, and gain the applause of the vulgar, are confuted by the conftant tenour of the rest of his actions, which all tended to maintain the interests of the nobility against the populace; for he, together with Ariftides, opposed I hemistocles, who was for advancing the authority of the people beyond its just limits; and afterwards quarrelled with Ephialtes, who, to ingratiate himfelf with the multitude, was for abolishing the jurisdiction of the Areopagites. And when all of his time, except Aristides and Ephialtes, took prefents, and enriched themselves by the public money, he still kept his hands clean and untainted, and was perfectly difinterested in all that he acted or spoke for the benefit of the commonwealth. They report that Ræfaces a Persian, who had revolted from the king his mafter, fled to Athens; and there being haraffed by fycophants, who were continually accusing him to the people, he applied to Cimon for redrefs. To gain his favour, he placed at the entrance of his house, two cups, the one full of filver Darici, and the other of gold. Cimon, when he faw them, fmiled, and asked him, whether he would have him to be his mercenary, or his friend; he replied, his friend. If so (said he) take away this money; for being your friend, I shall use it when I have occasion for it.

The allies of the Athenians began now to be very weary of the war, and were defirous to live in repose, and attend to the cultivation of their lands. For they saw their enemies driven out of the country, and did not fear any new incursions. Therefore though they still paid the contributions they were assessed at, they would not fend men and galleys, as they had done before. This the other thenian generals endeavoured to force them to do by prosecutions and sines, till at last they rendered the government of the Athenians uneasy, and odious

edious to their confederates. But Cimon practifed a contrary method; he forced none of the Greeks to go who were not willing, but from those that defired to be excused from service, he took money, and vessels unmanned, permitting the men to stay at home and follow what gainful vocations they liked best, whether of husbandry or merchandise. The consequence of this was, that by indolence and luxury they became enervated and unfit for war. But the Athenians he took by turns into his galleys, and by employing them in all his naval expeditions, foon rendered them the masters of those who paid them. So that being feverely disciplined, and continually in arms, they began to be feared and flattered by the allies, who at last fell to that degree of subjection, that of allies they became tributaries and flaves.

No man ever checked the ambition of the Perfians more than Cimon; for he not only beat them out of Greece, but closely purfuing them, would not let them take breath, nor re-establish their affairs; but either ravaged their territories and destroyed their towns, or prevailed on the provinces that were in subjection to them, to revolt to the Grecians. So that in all Asia, even from Ionia to Pamphylia, there was not one soldier that appeared

for the king of Persia.

When word was brought that some Persian commanders were upon the coasts of Pamphylia with a land-army, and a great fleet, Cimon, being desirous to terrify them in such a manner, that they should never more venture beyond the Chelidonian isles, set sail from Triopium and Cnidos with two hundred galleys, which were very swift and easily manageable. They were first contrived and built by I hemistocles; but Cimon widened them, and joined besides a scaffold to the deck of each of them, that they might contain a greater number of combatants to oppose the enemy. He first steered towards

towards the city of Phaselis, which though inhabited by Greeks, yet would not quit the interests of Persia, but denied his galleys entrance into the port. Whereupon he ravaged the country, and drew up his army to the walls of the town. But fome foldiers of Chios, who were then lifted under Cimon, being ancient friends to the Phaselites, endeavoured to mitigate the general in their behalf; and in the mean time shot arrows into the town, to which were fastened letters of intelligence, which gave them an account of the state of affairs. At length peace was concluded upon these conditions, that they should pay down ten talents, and join their forces with Cimon against the Barbarians. Ephorus fays, that the admiral of the Persian fleet was Tithraustes, and the general of the land-army, Pherendites: but Califthenes favs that Ariomandes the fon of Gobryas had the supreme command of all the forces. The whole fleet anchored at the mouth of the river Eurymedon, but with no defign to fight, because they expected a reinforcement of Phænician ships, which were to come from Cyprus. But Cimon, being refolved to prevent their joining, ranged his galleys in fuch a posture, that if they declined fighting, he might force them to it. The Barbarians seeing this, retired within the mouth of the river, to prevent their being attacked; but when they faw the Athenians come upon them, notwithanding their retreat, they met them with fix hundred fail, as Phanodemus relates, but according to Ephorus only with three hundred and fifty. Yet, notwithstanding this advantage of number, they did nothing worthy fo great a force; for they prefently turned the prows of their galleys toward the shore, where those that came first threw themselves upon land, and fled to their army, which was drawn up thereabouts; but the rest perished with their vessels, or were taken. By this we may judge that their number was very great;

for though many escaped out of the fight, and many others were funk, yet two hundred galleys were taken by the Athenians. When their land-army drew towards the fea-fide, Cimon thought it very hazardous to make a descent, and to expose his Greeks, already wearied, to the fwords of the Barbarians, who were all fresh men, and greatly superior to them in number. But feeing his men refolute, and flushed with victory, he ventured to land them while they were yet warm from the first engagement. As foon as they were difembarked. they fet up a shout, and ran furiously upon the enemy, who flood firm, and fustained the shock with great refolution. The battle was very bloody; and the principal men of the Athenians for quality and courage, were flain. At length, though with much difficulty, they routed the Barbarians; they took many prisoners, and plundered all their tents and pavilions, which were full of very rich spoil. Cimon having thus in one day gained two victories, wherein he furpaffed that of Salamin by fea, and that of Platææ by land, was encouraged to purfue his fuccefs: fo that news being brought that the Phoenician fuccours, in number eighty fail. were arrived at Hydrus, he immediately bent his course toward them. They had not received any certain account of the former defeat, and were in great doubt and suspense: so that being thus furprised, they lost all their vessels, and the greatest part of their men. This fuccess of Cimon so humbled the king of Persia, that he presently made that memorable peace, whereby he engaged that his armies should come no nearer the Grecian sea than the space of a day's journey on horseback, and that none of his galleys or veffels of war fhould appear beyond the Cyanean and Chelidonian islands. Califthenes fays, that this was not flipulated by articles, but that he kept at that distance from Greece merely through the fear which this victory had in-S 3

pressed upon him; so that when Pericles with sifty galleys, and Ephialtes with thirty, cruised beyond the Chelidonian islands, they could not discover one Persian vessel. But in the collection which Craterus made of the public decrees of the people, there is a copy of this treaty, which therefore must really have been made. And it is reported, that at Athens they erected an altar to Peace upon this occasion, and decreed particular honours to Callias, who was employed as ambassador to manage the

treaty.

The people of Athens raifed fo much money. from the fale of the spoils, that, beside what they fpent for other purposes, they had sufficient to build the fouth wall of the citadel. It is faid too, that the long walls called Skele or legs, which joined the city to the port, were founded by Cimon, (though they were not finished till afterwards), and that he furnished the money necessary for that work; for the place where they built them being a marshy ground, they were forced to fink great quantities of gravel and large stones to secure the foundation. It was he likewise that adorned Athens with those public places for exercise and converfation, which the Athenians afterward fo much frequented and delighted in. He planted the forum with plane trees. I he academy, which was before without trees and without water, he changed into a delightful grove beautified with fountains; he made covered alleys to walk in, and laid out ground for foot and horse races.

Afterward being informed that some Persians refused to quit the Chersonesus, and called in the people of the upper Thrace to their assistance, he sailed against them with a very small number of ships. The Barbarians despised so inconsiderable a force; he took, however, thirteen of their ships, though he attacked them only with four. Then having driven out the Persians, and subdued the

Thracians,

Thracians, he reduced the whole Chersonesus in fubication to the Athenians. From hence he went against the people of Thasos, who had revolted: and having defeated them in a fea-fight, and taken thirty-three of their veffels, he stormed their town. feized for the Athenians all the mines of gold on the opposite continent, and all the country dependent an it. This opened him an easy passage into Macedon, fo that he might have conquered the greatest part of it. But because he neglected that opportunity, he was suspected of having been bribed by King Alexander, and was profecuted by a combination of his enemies. When he was making his defence before the judges, he told them, that he had never cultivated a friendship with those rich nations, the Ionians and Thessalians, as some others for their own interest had done; but that there was a friendship subsisting between him and the Macedonians, because he admired, and wished to imitate their temperance and simplicity of living, which he preferred to any riches; though he had always been, and still was ambitious to enrich his country with the spoils of her enemies. Stefinbrotus, making mention of this trial, reports, that hlpinice, in behalf of her brother, addressed herself to Pericles, one of the most vehement of his accusers: and that Pericles answered her with a smile, You are too old, Elpinice, too old to manage affairs of this nature. However, after that, he became the mildest of his profecutors, and rose up but once all the while to plead against him; which he did but very faintly; fo that Cimon was acquitted.

In his political administration he always restrained the common people, who would have encroached upon the nobility, and drawn all the power into their own hands. But when he afterward went to command the army abroad, the multitude broke loose as it were, and reversed all the ancient laws and customs they had hitherto observed; and, at the instigation of Ephialtes, they withdrew the

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cognifance of almost all causes from the Areopagus; fo that all appeals being made to them, the government was reduced to a perfect democracy; and this by the help of Pericles, who declared in favour of the common people. But Cimon, when he returned, feeing this great council fo difgraced, was exceedingly troubled, and endeavoured to remedy these disorders, by bringing things to their former ftate, and reftoring the nobility to that authority. which they had in the time of Califthenes. This the others declaimed against with the greatest vehemence; they began to revive those stories concerning him and his fifter, and accused him of being too ftrongly attached to the Lacedæmonians. Agreeable to these calumnies are those well-known verses of Eupolis upon Cimon;

He's not ill-natur'd, what soe'er you think, But flies from business as he flies to drink. He goes to Sparta, and is so unkind, He leaves his poor Elpinice behind.

But if when he was slothful and a drunkard, he could storm so many towns, and gain so many victories; certainly if he had been sober, and diligent, no Grecian commander, either before or after him, could have surpassed him in martial exploits. He was indeed a favourer of the Lacedæmonians even from his youth; and Stesimbrotus reports, that of two sons that were twins, whom he had by a woman of Clitorium, he named one Lacedæmonius, and the other Eleus. Whence Pericles often upbraided them with the race of their mother. But Diodorus the geographer asserts that both these, and another son of Cimon's, whose name was Thessalus, were born of Isodice the daughter of Euryptolemus the son of Megacles.

However, this is certain, that Cimon was countenanced by the Lacedæmonians in opposition to Themistocles, whom they hated; and while he was

yet very young, they endeavoured to raife his credit and authority in Athens. This the Athenians perceived, and at first it gave them great pleasure; the favour which the Lacedæmonians showed him being at that time very advantageous to them. For as their authority was then beginning to increase, and they were labouring to gain over the allies. to their fide, they were not at all offended with the honour and kindness showed to Cimon; for he then bore the greatest sway in the affairs of Greece, as he was kind to the Lacedæmonians, and courteous to all the allies. But afterwards when the Athenians were grown more powerful, it gave them. great uneafiness to see Cimon so entirely devoted to the Lacedæmonians; for he would always in his fpeeches prefer them to the Athenians; and upon every occasion, when he would reprimand the Athenians for a fault, or incite them to emulation, he would fay, The Lacedæmonians would not do thus. This highly difgusted the citizens, and procured him a great deal of hatred and ill-will. But the calumny by which he fuffered most of all, had this original.

In the fourth year of the reign of Archidamus the fon of Zeuxidamus king of Sparta, there happened in Laconia the most dreadful earthquake that ever was known; the earth opened into most frightful abysses, and swallowed up some parts of the country; the mountain Taygetus and those adacent to it were so shaken that the summits of them fell down; and except five houses, all the town of Sparta was shattered to pieces. They fay, that a little before any motion was perceived, as fome young men were exercifing themselves in the middle of the portico, an hare of a fudden started out just by then, which some of them, though naked, and rubbed over with oil, ran after in fport; no fooner were they gone from the place, but the building fell down upon them that were left, and killed

them

them all. In memory of this fatal accident, the monument where they were afterwards interred is to this day called Sismatias, (that is), The tomb of those who were killed by the earthquake. Archidamus, by the prefent danger apprehending what might follow, and feeing the citizens intent upon removing the richest of their goods, commanded an alarm to be founded, as if their enemies were coming upon them, that they might immediately arm themselves, and refort to him. It was this alone that faved. Sparta at that time: for the Helots were affembled. together from the adjacent country, with a defign to furprife the Spartans, and to plunder those whom the earthquake had spared. But finding them armed, and well prepared, they retired into the other towns, and openly made war against them, having drawn into a confederacy not a few of their neighbours. Among the reft, the Messenians joined with them against the Spartans, who therefore dispatched Periclidas to Athens to solicit for fuccours. Alluding to this Aristophanes ridicules. him in thefe lines;

When he with coat so red and face so pale Our help implored, and told his piteous tale.

Ephialtes endeavoured to prevent the people from granting this request, declaring that they ought not to affist or restore a city that was rival to Athens; but that they should leave it in its present distress, and trample on the pride and arrogance of Sparta. But Cimon (as Critias relates) chusing rather to preserve Sparta, than to aggrandize his own country, persuaded the people to send him with a considerable army to its relief. Ion has preserved that part of his speech which most affected the Athenians. It was this; Suffer not Greece to be maimed by the lass of so considerable a member, nor your own city to be deprived of her companion.

In his return from aiding the Lacedæmonians,

he passed with his army through the territory of Corinth. Lachartus reproached him for bringing his army into the country; without first asking leave of the people, telling him, that he who knocks at another man's door, ought not to enter the house without the master's leave, But you, Lachartus, (faid Cimon), did not knock at the gates of the Cleonians and Megarians, but broke them down, and entered by force, thinking that every place ought to be open to the powerful. Having given this fharp and proper rebuke to the Corinthian, he paffed on with his army. Some time after this, the Lacedæmonians fent a fecond time to defire fuccours of the Athenians, against the Messenians and Helots, who had seized upon Ithome. But when they came, the Spartans fearing their courage and refolution, fent them back, (they were the only allies they used in that manner); alleging they were turbulent and feditious. Athenians returned home, enraged at this usage, and vented their anger upon all those who were favourers of the Lacedæmonians. Therefore upon fome flight occasion they banished Cimon for ten years, which is the time prescribed to those who are banished by the oftracism. In the mean time the Lacedæmonians intending to deliver Delphi from the Phoceans, brought an army to Tanagra, whither the Athenians prefently marched with a defign to fight them.

Cimon also came thither armed, intending to join with his countrymen in opposing the Lacedæmonians, and accordingly ranged himself amongst those of his own tribe, which was that of Oeneis. But the council of five hundred being informed of this, and terrified at it, (his adversaries crying out that he would disorder the army, and bring the Lacedæmonians to Athens), commanded the officers not to receive him. Cimon therefore left the army, conjuring Euthippus the Anaphlystian, and the rest of his companions, who were most suspected of fa-

vouring

vouring the Lacedæmonians, to behave themselves bravely against their enemies, and by their actions make their innocence evident to their countrymen, These men being an hundred in number took Cimon's complete armour, and placing it in the middle of their battalion, formed themselves into a close body, and charged fo desperately upon the enemy, that they were all cut off. The Athenians deeply regretted the loss of fuch brave men, and repented of their unjust suspicions. Nor did they long retain their refentment against Cimon, being influenced partly by the remembrance of his former fervices, and partly by the confideration of the present state of their affairs. For having been defeated at Tanagra in a great battle, and fearing the Peloponnesians would come upon them at the opening of the fpring, they recalled Cimon by a decree, of which Pericles himself was author. So reasonable were mens resentments in those times, and fo moderate their anger, that it always gave way to the public good: even ambition, the most ungovernable of all human passions, could then yield to the necessities of the state.

Cimon, as foon as he returned, put an end to the war, and reconciled the two cities. But feeing the Athenians impatient of being idle, and eager to aggrandize themselves by war, and fearing left they should set upon the Grecians themselves, or with fo many ships cruifing about the islands and Peloponnesius, give occasion to intestine wars, or complaints of their allies against them, he equipped two hundred galleys, with a defign to make an attempt once more upon Ægypt and Cyprus, that thus he might accustom the Athenians to fight against the Barbarians, and enrich themselves by the plunder of those who were by nature enemies to Greece. But when all things were prepared, and the army was ready to embark, Cimon had this dream: he thought that a bitch barked furiously

at him, and with a kind of human voice mixed with barking, uttered these words:

Go on, for shortly thou shalt be A friend to my young whelps, and me.

This dream was hard to interpret; yet Astyphihus of Posidonia, a man skilled in divination, and intimate with Cimon, told him, that his death was prefaged by this vision, which he thus explained: A dog is an enemy to him he barks at, and a man is always most a friend to his enemies, when he is dead; the mixture of a human voice with barking signifies the Medes, for the army of the Medes is made up of Greeks and Barbarians. After this dream, as he was facrificing to Bacchus, and the priest was cutting up the victim, a great number of emmets, taking up the little congealed particles of the blood, laid them about Cimon's great toe: this was not observed a good while; but as foon as Cimon faw it, the prieft came and showed him the liver of the victim imperfect, wanting that part of it which they called the head. But as he could not then recede from the enterprise, he fet fail; fixty of his ships he fent toward Ægypt; with the rest he went and fought the king of Persia's fleet, composed of Phænician and Cilician ships. He subdued all the cities of Cyprus, and threatened Ægypt, defigning no less than the entire ruin of the Persian empire; and the rather because he was informed that Themistocles was in great repute among the Barbarians, and had promifed the king to lead his army, whenever he should make war upon Greece. But they fay Themistocles, losing all hopes of succeeding in his defigns, and despairing to surpass the virtue and good fortune of Cimon, died a voluntary death. Cimon still framing great designs, and keeping his navy about the island of Cyprus, sent messengers to confult the oracle of Jupiter Ammon upon some secret affair; (for it is not known with what mef-

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fage they were fent.) The god would give them no answer, but commanded them to return again. faying that Cimon was already with him. Hearing this they returned towards the fea, and as foon as they came to the Grecian army, which was then about Ægypt, they were informed that Cimon was dead; and computing the time when the oracle was delivered, they found that his death was meant by the expression, that he was then with the gods. It is generally faid that he died of a fickness at Citium in Cyprus; but some fay that he died of a wound he received in an engagement with the Barbarians. Just before his death, he commanded those under his charge to return to their country, and by no means to fpread the news of his death by the way, This order was fo punctually executed, that they all came home fafe, and neither their enemies nor allies knew what had happened. Thus, as Phanodemus observes, the Grecian army was, as it were, conducted by Cimon thirty days after he was dead. But with him perished all the good fortune of Greece: for after his death no commander ever did any thing great or memorable against the Barbarians; and instead of uniting against their common enemies, the Grecians were exasperated against each other by their turbulent and contentious leaders, and no one interposed his good offices to reconcile them. This gave the Persians time to recruit their strength, and brought inexpressible mischief and ruin upon the Greeks. It is true indeed, Agefilaus made fome flow of the Grecian forces in Asia, but it was a long time after: he feemed to revive fome little appearances of a war against the king's lieutenants in the maritime provinces, but they all quickly vanished; for before he could perform any thing of moment, he was recalled on account of fome new diffenfions among the Greeks at home: fo that he was forced to leave the officers of the king of Perfia

Perfia to impose what tribute they pleased on the Grecian cities in Asia. Whereas, in the time of Cimon, no person whatever, not even a lettercarrier, durst come near the borders, nor any man in arms within four hundred furlongs of the fea.

The monuments called Cimonian to this day in Athens, show that to be the place of his burial. Yet the inhabitants of the city of Citium pay particular honour to a certain tomb which they call the tomb of Cimon, according to Nausicrates the rhetorician; who also reports, that in a famine, when their necessities were very great, they sent to the oracle, which commanded them to honour Gimon as a god.

Such was the life and character of this Grecian

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## L I F E

OF

## NICIAS.

CInce we have thought proper to compare Craf-I fus with Nicias, and the misfortunes in Parthia with those in Sicily, we must first beseech the reader, not to think that we contend with Thucydides in relating those events which are so pathetically, fo ftrongly, fo elegantly, fo inimitably described by him, and in representing which he has excelled himself; nor to believe us guilty of the like folly with Timæus the historian, who fancying himfelf able to furpass Thucydides in majesty of style, and make Philistus appear a trifling and infipid writer, boldly rushes on through battles in the field, naval fights, laboured harangues, and all those parts of history in which these writers. had chiefly exerted their genius and art. I will not fay that he is no more to be compared to them.

Than he who limps on foot with weary pace, To Lydian chariots whirling in the race,

according to Pindar's expression; but that he is altogether a shallow puerile writer, and, as Diphilus says,

All fat, and rolling in Sicilian greafe.

He oftentimes falls as low, as even Xenarchus himself, telling us, that he thought it ominous to the Athenians, that their general, whose name imported victory, refused to command in the expedition: and that from the defacing the Hermæ, the gods foretold, that they should very much suffer in war, from the commander of the Syracusans, Hermocrates the son of Hermon. And in another place he tells us, it was very likely that Hercules would aid the Syracufans, for the fake of Proserpine, by whose means he took Cerberus; and that he was offended at the Athenians for protecting the Ægeflians, who were descended from the Trojans his mortal enemies, whose city he had destroyed to revenge an injury he had received from their king Laomedon. But thefe observations, I suppose, are the effect of the same refined taste and judgment, which taught him to criticife the language of Philiftus, and to carp at Plato and Aristotle.

To be folicitous to furpass other writers in style, fhows, I think, in general, a mean ambition, worthy only of a fophist; but to attempt to surpass what is inimitable, is a proof of confummate ftupidity. Since therefore there are many actions of Nicias already related by Thucydides and Philiflus which must not be entirely omitted, especially those that discover the genius and disposition of the man, which under his many and great troubles lay concealed, these I shall briefly mention; that I may not feem altogether negligent, but shall enlarge upon them no further than is absolutely necessary; and fuch things as are not vulgarly known, and lie fcattered up and down in other mens writings, or are found in old inscriptions and public records, I shall endeavour to bring together; not with a view to gratify curiofity without any further advantage. but to discover the temper and character of the perfon whose life I am writing.

The first thing to be observed of Nicias, is what Aristotle has written concerning him. He says,

that there were at the same time in Athens three citizens aninent above all the rest for their paternal affection to the people, Nicias the fon of Niceratus, Thucydides the son of Milesias, and Theramenes the son of Agnon; but the last of these came short of the other two in that respect, for he was reproached for his foreign extraction, he being a native of Ceos; besides, he was of an un ettled inconstant temper, and fided fometimes with one party, and fometimes with another, in the commonwealth, fo that he obtained the nickname of Bulkin. Of these three Thucydides was the eldeft, and espoused the interest of the nobility, which often led him to oppose Pericles, who studied to ingratiate himself with the common. people. Nicias, though younger, was yet in some reputation even whilft Pericles lived; fo that he was fometimes in joint commission with him, and frequently was general alone. But after the death of Pericles he foon rose to the highest preferments, chiefly by the favour of the nobility, who chofe him. for their protector against the presumption and infolence of Cleon; yet at the same time he preferved his interest with the commons, who had an affection for him, and contributed to his advancement. It is true that Cleon had very great interest, which he obtained by making his court to the old men, and by giving frequent donations to the poor; yet even they, whom he thus practifed upon for their favour, beholding the avarice, the arrogance, and the prefumption of the man, gave the preference to Nicias. For his gravity was not harsh and odious, but tempered with a certain respect and deference, which very much refembled timidity, and recommended him exceedingly to the people. He was naturally diffident and timorous, but his good fortune concealed his want of courage in battle, for he always came off with fuccess. But his timorousness in affairs of government, and his dread of informers, tended very much to procure

him the good-will of the people, and gave him no finall power over them, who are always afraid of those that despise them, and promote such as stand in awe of them; for the greatest honour they aim at, is not to be held in contempt by their superiors.

Pericles, who by folid virtue, and the force of eloquence ruled the commonwealth, stood in need of no disguise or artifice to gain the favour of the people; whereas Nicias, who was inferior to him in those talents, but abounded in wealth, made use of that to render himself popular. And as he had not from nature the ready wit of Cleon, who by jests and drollery pleased and diverted the Athenians, he entertained the people with dances, games, and public shows, more sumptuous and elegant than had been ever known in his, or in former

ages.

Amongst his religious offerings there is extant, even in our days, a statue of Minerva in the citadel, of which the gold covering is loft, and a little chapel in the temple of Bacchus, placed under the tripods, which had likewife been prefented by him, and are the usual offerings of such as gain the prize in the public shows, in which he always came off victorious. It happened one day whilst he was exhibiting one of these shows to the people, that a flave of his came upon the stage, very young, beautiful, and well shaped, and richly habited, being to personate Bacchus. The Athenians, pleased at so agreeable a spectacle, clapped their hands, and continued for some time to testify their fatiffaction and applause; at last Nicias stood up, and declared, That he thought it a great impiety any longer to detain in flavery a person who by the public voice had been likened to a deity, and immediately gave him his liberty.

His offerings at Delos are mentioned to this day, as noble and magnificent proofs of his devotion.

Before

Before his time the bands of music, which the cities of Greece used to send to Delos to sing hymns to Apollo, generally arrived in great hurry and confusion. For the inhabitants of the island ran in crouds to the sea-side as soon as the ship appeared, and without staying till the performers were landed, they cried out with great impatience for them to begin; so that they were forced to sing, put on their chaplets, and religious vestments all at the same time, which could not be done without

much disorder and indecency.

When Nicias conducted this facred procession, instead of steering directly to Delos, he landed at the isle of Rhenia, having with him the chorus, the victims for the facrifice, and every thing else necessary for the festival. He carried with him a bridge he had ordered to be prepared at Athens of a proper length, to lay over the narrow channel that lies between Delos and Rhenia. It was a magnificent piece of work, adorned with rich gildings, fine paintings, and tapestry. Nicias caused it to be laid over the channel in the night-time, and early in the morning began the procession, the musicians in their costly habits marching in order, and singing as they passed over the bridge.

The facrifices, the games, and the feast being over, he set up a palm-tree of brass as a present to the god, and bought a piece of land for ten thousand drachmas, which he consecrated. The revenue of this land was to be laid out annually in a facrifice and feast, wherein the Delians were to pray for the health and prosperity of Nicias. This was engraved on a pillar, which he erected and left at Delos as a monument and record of this benefaction. The palm tree being afterwards blown down by the wind, fell on the great statue which the Naxians had presented, and beat it to the grounds

It is very plain, that much of this looks like vainglory, and shows a strong affectation of popularity

and defire of applause. Yet from the other qualities and behaviour of the man, one might believe all this cost and magnificence to be purely the effect of his devotion. For he was one of those who dreaded the divine powers extremely, and (as Thucydides informs us) was devout even to superstition. In one of Pasiphon's dialogues we are told, that he daily facrificed to the gods, and kept a foothfayer in his house, whom he pretended to consult always about the commonwealth; whereas, for the most part, he inquired only concerning his private affairs, and more especially about his filver mines; for he possessed many, and of great value, in the borough of Laurium; but they were not wrought without hazard. He maintained there a multitude of flaves, and his wealth confifted chiefly in filver; fo that he had many retainers, who had what they wanted for asking. For he gave freely to those he stood in fear of, as well as to fuch as were worthy of his liberality. In short, his fear was an annual revenue to knaves, and his humanity to honest men. Of this even the comic writers are a fufficient evidence. Teleclides brings in an informer, speaking thus: Charicles would not give him one mina to oblige him not to discover that he was the eldest of his mother's children, and the first-fruits of her amours. Whereas Nicias the son of Niceratus gave him four. Though I very well know the reason of this generofity, I will disclose it to nobody; for Nicias is my friend, and in my opinion a very wife man.

The poet Eupolis, in one of his pieces called Marica, introduces another informer, whom he fatirizes, and makes him speak in this manner to a poor

fimple fellow.

Informer. Tell me, friend, when didst thou see Nicias?

Poor man. I never saw him till lately in the forum. Informer. He confesses that he has seen Nicias. And what did he see him for, unless to receive his money, and

be bribed by him? My friends, you bear me witness. We

bave caught Nicias in the very fact.

Poet. You are a parcel of coxcombs, if you ever think to furprise an honest man, such as Nicias, in an unjustifiable action.

And Cleon in Aristophanes fays in a menacing tone,

I will stop the mouths of their orators, and make Nicias tremble.

Phrynichus alludes to the excessive timidity that appeared in his aspect, in this passage: He, I know, was an honest man and a good citizen; he did not walk

the streets with a downcast look, like Nicias.

He was so afraid of informers, that he would neither venture to eat or converse with any of the citizens, nor would he visit, or be visited, or, in a word, enter into any amusements of this kind. When he was archon, he used to stay in court till night, being always the first that came, and the last that went away. When no public business called him from home, it was no easy matter to get access to him, for he kept himself close within doors; and when any came to speak with him, he had some particular friend ready who went to the gate, desiring Nicias might be excused, because he was then taken up with some important affairs relating to the state.

The person who acted the chief part in this comedy, and contributed more than any to gain him the reputation of a man overcharged with business, was Hiero, who had been educated in Nicias's family, and instructed by him in letters and music: he pretended to be the son of Dionysius surnamed Chalcus, whose poems are yet extant, and who having been chosen leader of a colony which was sent into Italy, settled there, and built the city of Thurii. This Hiero transacted all his secret business with the divisers, and represented in his

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speeches to the people, what a toilsome and miserable life Nicias led, for the sake of the commonwealth. He (said Hiero) can never be quiet; even at the bath, and at his meals, some public care always seizes him. Careless of his own, and zealous for the public good, he scarce ever goes to bed, till after others have had their first sleep: so that his health is impaired, and his body wasted. Not being cheerful and affable with his friends, he loses them, together with his own private fortune, for the sake of the public: whilst other men make friends by being in office, enrich themselves, fare luxuriously, and make public business an amusement. Such indeed was Nicias's manner of life, that he might apply to himself that saying of Agamemnon,

Slaves to the people, we but ferve in state, Though pomp surround us, and they call us great.

Nicias observed, that the people readily made use of the capacity of those who excelled in eloquence and prudence when they wanted them; but he observed at the same time, that they were jealous of their abilities, kept a watchful eye over them, checked their pride on all occasions, and lessened their reputation. This was but too manifest in their condemnation of Pericles, their banishment of Damon, their distrust of Antiphon the Rhamnusian, but especially in the case of Paches, who had taken Lesbos, and who being summoned to give an account of his conduct, drew his sword in open court, and slew himself.

On these considerations Nicias declined the command in all expeditions that were long and difficult; and when he was in commission, he would hazard nothing; it is no wonder therefore if he succeeded in all his undertakings; and yet he never attributed his success to any wisdom, conduct, or courage of his own, but (to avoid envy) he ascribed it to fortune and the savour of the gods. This is very evident from the occurrences of those times: for

Nicias

Nicias had no share in bringing on any of those heavy calamities which then befel the Athenians. If they were defeated in Thrace by the Chalcidians, it was under the conduct of Calliadas and Xenophon; if they were unfortunate in Ætolia, it was when Demosthenes was their general; if they lost a thousand men at Delium in Bœotia, it was when Hippocrates commanded. And as for the plague with which Athens was visited, that was chiefly to be charged upon Pericles, who, by reason of the war, had forced all the inhabitants of the country into the city, where the change of air, close confinement, and different way of living, produced

that horrible contagion.

None of these calamities could be imputed to Nicias. On the contrary, he took the island of Cithera, fo commodiously situated for making incurfions into Laconia, and inhabited by the Laceda. monians. He likewise reduced several towns in Thrace, which had revolted from the Athenians. He confined the Megarenfians within their own walls, and then made himself master of the island of Minoa; and marching from thence, he foon after feized on the haven of Nifæa, made a descent upon the territories of Corinth, where he gained an entire victory, killing great numbers of the Corinthians upon the fpot, and among the rest Lycophron their general. There he had the misfortune, without knowing it till it was too late, to leave two of his foldiers dead behind him, they having been overlooked when fearch was made, and the dead were carried off in order to be buried. As foon as he perceived it, he flackened his fails, and fent an herald to the enemy for leave to carry off the dead. Now, by the laws and customs of war, they who demanded a truce in order to carry off their dead, gave up all pretentions to the victory, fo that they were not fuffered to erect a trophy, because they who have the dead in their power are properly mafters

sters of the field, and not they who demand them; for if they are, why do they not take them? Not-withstanding this, Nicias chose rather to give up the honour of the victory, than to suffer two citizens to lie unburied.

After he had feoured the coast of Laconia, and put to slight the Lacedæmonians that made head against him, he took the fort of I hyræa, which was garrisoned by the Æginetæ, and carried them

away prisoners to Athens.

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Demosthenes the Athenian general having fortified Pylos, the Peloponnesians immediately marched against it, and laid close siege to it both by sea and land; but being overthrown in an engagement, they threw about four hundred Spartans into the island of Sphacteria. The Athenians thought it of great consequence, as indeed it was, to take those men prisoners. But the fiege proved very troublefome and difficult, for the country afforded them no water, and they could not receive their convoys without prodigious labour and expense; it being neceffary for them to go a great way about in the fummer, and in winter the paffage was impracti-. This made them foon weary of their undertaking; and they repented having dismissed the ambaffadors fent by the Lacedæmonians to negotiate a peace. They had taken that flep at the inftigation of Cleon, who opposed the peace out of pique to Nicias, for he was his declared enemy; and when he faw that Nicias made use of all his credit to support the Spartans in their demands, he on the contrary prevailed on the people to reject all offers of accommodation.

When they found that the fiege held out much longer than was expected, and heard that their army was reduced by the want of necessaries to great extremity, they began to be enraged at Cleon. He daid the whole blame upon Nicias, charging him with cowardice, by which he suffered the enemy to

escape. If I, said he, had been general, the Spartans should not have held out so long. Here the Athenians took him at his word, and with one voice said, Go thou then immediately against them; and Nicias rising up said, I very willingly yield to Cleon the command in this expedition against Pylos. At the same time he ordered him to raise what forces he thought necessary, and embark without loss of time. Do not spend thy breath, added he, in boasting at home where there is no danger, but go, and render some important service

to thy country.

Cleon, furprised and confounded to be thus taken at his word, began to draw back, and unfay what he had advanced; but the Athenians commanding him to depart, and Nicias strongly infisting upon it, he was at once fired with courage and ambition, and did not only take the charge upon him, but even limited the time, and declared, that, within the space of twenty days after he was embarked, he would either kill the enemy upon the fpot, or bring them prisoners to Athens. This the Athenians were readier to laugh at, than to believe; for, on other occasions, his levity and extravagance used to please and divert them. As for instance, it is reported, that once when the people were affembled, and had waited for his coming a long time, at last he entered with a garland on his head, and begged them to adjourn to the next day; for (faid he) I am not at leifure to-day, I have facrificed to the gods, and am to feast some strangers. Upon this the Athenians laughing, rose up, and dissolved the affembly. However, at this time he was fo fortunate, and acquitted himself so well in the command, in conjunction with Demosthenes, that, within the time he had limited, he brought captive to Athens all the Spartans that had not fallen in battle.

This brought a great diffrace on Nicias; for if it be ignominious for a man to throw away his shield

fhield in time of battle, it is much more so to decline out of fear and cowardice the command of an army, and by putting it into the hands of his enemy, to give him an opportunity of fignalizing himfelf by so important an action.

Aristophanes sneers at him on this occasion, in his Birds, when he says, This is not a time for us to linger and doze like Nicias. And in his Husbandmen

he introduces two Athenians speaking thus.

1st Ath. I had rather stay at home and mind my farm. 2d Ath. Well, and who hinders thee?

Ist Ath. You hinder me; and yet I am willing to pay

a thousand drachmas to be excused from this office.

2d Ath. Let us fee them; they will make two thoufand when added to those Nicias has paid on the same actount.

Beside this, he did a great injury to the city, by suffering Cleon to acquire such great reputation and power; for that enormous pride and unbridled impudence, which were the consequence of it, produced infinite mischies in the commonwealth, of all which Nicias had his full share. For now Cleon banished all decorum in his public orations; it was he first of all that broke out into violent exclamations, slung open his cloak, smote his thigh, and ran up and down whilst he was speaking, which soon after introduced amongst those who managed the affairs of state such licentiousness and contempt of decency, as brought all into confusion.

About this time Alcibiades began to distinguish himself, and harangue the people. He was not so corrupt and licentious as Cleon; but as it is faid of the land of Egypt, on account of the richness of

the foil.

With equal plenty all her fields produce Both wholesome herbs, and drugs of deadly juice;

fo the nature of Alcibiades being strong and luxuriant

riant in both kinds, produced a great many innovations. So that Nicias, even after he had got rid of Cleon, was not able to fettle the republic in perfect tranquillity. For having brought affairs into a promiting ftate, all was plunged into confusion, and he was again embroiled in war through the impetuosity and extravagant ambition of Alcibiades.

This happened in the following manner.

They who principally opposed the peace of Greece were Cleon and Brasidas; for war set off the virtue of the one, and hid the villany of the other; it gave to the one occasions of performing great actions, to the other of committing enormous crimes. When these were both slain in an engagement near Amphipolis, Nicias having perceived that the Spartans had long been defirous of a peace, and that the Athenians had no great inclination to the war, both parties being alike tired, and equally willing to lay down their arms, immediately used all his endeavours to re-establish a friendship betwixt these two states, and to deliver the other Grecians from the calamities they laboured under, and fo to fecure their happiness to after ages. He found the men of substance, the aged, and the husbandmen generally inclined to peace; befide thefe, he discoursed with many others in private, and by his arguments and remonstrances rendered them more tractable, and less eager for the war. Having thus prepared the way, he gave hopes of peace to the Lacedæmonians, and advised them to propose an accommodation. They confided in him, as one whose moderation they had experienced in other inftances, and particularly in the humanity and tenderness he had shown to the prisoners that had been taken at Pylos, which made their chains fit eafy upon them.

Both parties had already taken one step towards a peace, by agreeing to a cessation of arms for a year, during which they conversed with one another, and tasting the sweets of security and repose, and the pleasure arising from the liberty of a free intercourse with strangers, as well as friends, they by degrees grew averse to war and the essusion of blood. They heard with great demonstrations of joy the chorus singing in their tragedies,

Rest my launce, let no man mind thee, Till around the cobwebs bind thee.

And with pleasure remembered that saying, They who sleep in peace are not awakened by the sound of the trumpet, but by the crow of the cock. Reviling therefore, and ill treating those who maintained that it was decreed by fate that the war should hold out thrice, nine years, they entered into conferences,

and at last figned the peace.

Most people persuaded themselves, that now an entire end was put to all their calamities; and Nicias was spoken of by every one as a man beloved by the gods, who in recompense for his piety had given him a name drawn from the most glorious and desirable thing in the world. For they as much believed the peace to be the work of Nicias, as the war to have been the work of Pericles. And indeed Pericles had on very slight pretences plunged the Grecians into very great calamities; whereas Nicias persuaded them to overlook and forget past offences, and become friends; for which reason that peace is to this very day called the Nician peace.

By the articles of this peace it was agreed, that all places and prisoners should be restored on each side, and that the lot should determine who should first begin the restitution. Nicias, as Theophrastus writes, privately purchased the lot with money, that the Lacemonians might be first obliged to evacuate. The Corinthians and Bosotians appeared very much distaissed at this treaty, and by their complaints and accusations had like to have renew-

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ed the war. But Nicias persuaded the Athenians and Lacedæmonians to secure the peace by a league offensive and defensive, which would render them more formidable to those who had a mind to separate from them, and bind them still closer to each other.

Whilst these matters were on foot, Alcibiades, whose nature was impatient of repose, and who hated the Lacedæmonians, because they made all their applications to Nicias, and overlooked and despised him, did what he could even from the beginning to break off the negotiations, and prevent the peace, but all in vain. Some time after, however, feeing the Athenians not well pleafed with the Lacedemonians, who they thought had done them an injury by making a league with the Boeotians, and by not delivering up Paractus and Amphipolis entire, he made use of this occasion to irritate the people, and infifted strongly upon every circumstance. At last having procured an embasfy to be fent from Argos, he endeavoured to form a confederacy between the Argives and Athenians.

Upon this the Spartans fent their ambaffadors with full power to Athens. They first had an audience in the fenate, and every one thought their proposals just and reasonable. Wherefore Alcibiades, dreading the effects of their speeches to the people, refolved to circumvent them. Accordingly he affured them with an oath, that he would affift them with all his credit, provided they denied having full powers; which, he faid, was the only way for them to fucceed in their negotiation. Thus were the ambaffadors perfuaded to abandon Nicias, and attach themfelves to Alcibiades; who having conducted them into the affembly of the people, demanded of them, if they bad full power to settle every thing in dispute between them? they declared they had not; whereupon Alcibiades, contrary to their expectations, changing on a fudden, called the council to witness

witness their declaration before them, and exhorted the people to give no credit nor so much as a hearing to such notorious liars, who upon the very same subject could say one thing to-day, and to-morrow affirm the contrary. The ambassadors (as we may well suppose) were surprised and confounded; Nicias himself was at a loss what to say, and was struck with wonder and amazement. Immediately the people called out for the ambassadors of Argos; and were for entering into an alliance with them. But that very instant an earthquake happened, which, very seasonably for Nicias, broke up the assembly.

The next day, the people being again affembled, Nicias with much difficulty prevailed on them to postpone the treaty with the Argives for the prefent, and to send him ambassador to Sparta, in which case he assured them every thing should be

determined to their fatisfaction.

At his arrival in Sparta he was honoured and refpected by all the Lacedæmonians, who looked on him as an honest man, and one who had expressed a great deal of friendship for them on all occasions. Notwithstanding this he had no success in his negotiation; but being over-ruled by those who were in the interest of the Bœotians, he returned as he came, not only with reproach and dishonour, but even in fear of the resentment of the Athenians, who were enraged at him for being the means of releasing a number of fuch considerable prisoners. For the Spartans who had been brought from Pylos to Athens, were of the first families in Sparta, and related or allied to perfons of the greatest interest and authority in the city. However their indignation proceeded no further against him than to make choice of Alcibiades for their general. At the same time they entered into an alliance with the Mantineans and Eleans, who had deferted the Lacedæmonians, made a league with the Argives\_ Argives, and fent some troops to Pylos to infest La-

conia. Thus was the war again renewed.

The enmity between Nicias and Alcibiades was at the highest pitch, when the ostracism was expected. It was a custom with the Athenians to have recourse to this at different periods, when they had a mind to rid themselves for the space of ten years of any person whom they suspected and envied for his reputation or his riches. This put them both under strong apprehensions, for they had great reason to think the judgment would fall upon one of them. The Athenians detefted Alcibiades for his intemperance and debauchery, and feared him for his boldness and intrepidity, as we have more particularly shown in the account of his life. Nicias's wealth had excited their envy against him, which was aggravated by his auftere, referved, and unfociable manner of life, which feemed to difcover a haughtiness and affect tion of superiority unbecoming a member of a popular state. Besides, he had opposed their durling schemes, and forced them against their will upon those measures which were most beneficial to the public; and this made him still more odious. In a word, the city was divided into two parties, the young men who were fond of war, and the old men and more fedate citizens who were defirous to preferve the peace. The first of these were for making the oftracism fall upon Nicias, and the others for turning it against Alcibiades. But as it has been well observed,

## The worst get honours when sedition reigns.

Thus it fell out on this occasion. The city being divided into factions, made room for the advancement of the most insolent and profligate of mankind; amongst whom was Hyperbolus of the borough of Perithois; a man not presuming from any power of his own, but from his presumption rising into power; and by the honour he found in the

the city, becoming a scandal to it. This wretch thinking himself out of all danger, and owing his security to his unworthiness, as indeed he was fitter for the gibbet than the oftracism, flattered himselt with the thoughts, that if the lot fell either on Nicias or Alcibiades, he should be able to manage a party against him that escaped. He was therefore highly pleased at this dissension, and irritated the people against them both. But Nicias and Alcibiades perceiving his malice, had a private meeting, at which they agreed to unite their interests, so that they both escaped, and the sentence fell on Hyperbolus.

At first the people laughed, and made a jest of this; but afterwards they considered it in another view. They were extremely provoked, when they reslected that they had disgraced the punishment by instituting it on so unworthy an object; that it was proper indeed for a Thucydides, an Aristides, and others of like eminence and merit, but that it was what Hyperbolus might glory in, since he received the same punishment for his crimes, which had been inslicted on men of worth for their virtues. This is what Plato the comic poet alluded to when he said;

His crimes, indeed, deferv'd the fate he bore, Condemn'd to wander from his native shore. Yet, sure, to such a base degenerate slave, The shell not punishment, but honour gave. That mark for dangerous eminence design'd Ill suits a wretch of such a grov'ling mind.

And indeed no person ever after that was banished by the offracism. This Hyperbolus was the last, and Hipparchus the Cholargian, a relation of the tyrant, was the first. From this event it appears, that fortune is incomprehensible, and above the reach of human reasoning. If Nicias had shared in the danger of this sentence with Alcibiades, one

of these two things must have happened; either he must have prevailed and removed his competitor, by which means he would have remained absolute in Athens; or he must have been banished himself, and in that case he would have prevented the calamities which happened to him afterwards, and would have preserved the reputation of a wise and experienced commander.

l am not ignorant of what Theophrastus says, that Hyperbolus was banished, when Phæax, not Nicias had the contest with Alcibiades; but most

authors differ from him.

About this time arrived at Athens ambaffadors from the Ægestians and Leontines, to press the A. thenians to carry the war into Sicily. Nicias opposed this expedition with all his might, but was overpowered by the activity and ambition of Alcibiades, who, before the day appointed for the affembly, had prepoffessed the people, and puffed them up with vain hopes and imaginations. So that the youth in their places of exercise, and the old men in the shops and other places where they met for conversation, employed themselves in drawing maps of Sicily, in talking of the nature and quality of the fea that furrounds it, and in describing its havens, and that part of the coast which is opposite to Africa. For they did not confider vicily as the end of the conquest, but thought of making it a place of arms, and an arfenal, from whence they might carry the war against Carthage, and so make themselves masters of Africa, and all the seas, as far as the pillars of Hercules.

Whilst their thoughts were full of this expedition, Nicias, who opposed it, had neither the people nor the nobility to support him. The wealthy were afraid that their opposition might be ill interpreted, and that it would be thought they were against it, for fear of being engaged in the service, and to avoid the expense of fitting out the galleys.

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This made them acquiesce contrary to their senti-

Notwithstanding this, Nicias was not discouraged, but still perfisted in his opposition; and when the Athenians had passed the decree, and joined him in the supreme command with Alcibiades and Lamachus, in the very next affembly he stood up, vehemently protested against the undertaking, and reproached Alcibiades for having out of a view to his own interest, and to gratify his ambition, drawn the city into a foreign war, which would prove fatal to the commonwealth. But all he could fay fignified nothing; on the contrary, from his great experience he was thought the fittest for the employment, and the people built their hopes of fuccess on nothing so much as his caution and timidity, joined with Alcibiades's bravery, and the mildness of Lamachus. Besides, one of the orators named Demostratus, who had been the most zealous in animating the Athenians to this expedition, stood up and faid, he would prevent Nicias from urging any more vain excuses, and thereupon moved, that the generals might have absolute power both at home and abroad, to order and act as they thought fit; and this he perfuaded the people to pass into a law.

However, the priests are said to have opposed this enterprise, declaring the facrifices to be inauspicious. But Alcibiades had other diviners who had produced some old oracles, foretelling, that the Athenians were to get great renown in Sicily. At the same time, some persons who had been at the temple of Jupiter Ammon, brought with them an oracle, which declared, that the Athenians should take all

the Syracufans.

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They who knew any figns that were unfavourable, concealed them, being unwilling to be fore-boders of evil; for even prodigies that were obvious and plain, would not deter the people; not the defacing of the Hermæ, all which were main-

ed in one night, except that called the Hermes of Andocides, erected by the tribe Ægeis, and placed before the house which was then in the possession of Andocides. Nor what was perpetrated on the altar of the twelve gods; for a certain man leaping up fuddenly, and then placing himfelf aftride upon it, with a stone cut off his privities. There stood in the temple at Delphi a golden statue of Minerva placed on a palm-tree of brafs, an offering which the city of Athens had made out of the spoils taken from the Medes. A flight of crows rested upon this statue, pecked it for feveral days together, plucked off the fruit from the palm-tree, which was of gold, and flung it upon the ground. The Athenians, to elude these presages, said, That they were fictions invented by the Delphians, who had been corrupted by the inhabitants of Syracuse. The Athenians had been directed by a certain oracle to remove the priestess of Minerva from Clazomenæ to Athens; accordingly they fent for her, and it appeared that her name was Hesychia; so that, in all likelihood, the meaning of that oracle was, that the Athenians should be quiet.

The aftrologer Meton, whether he was terrified at these presages, or whether from reasoning and conjecture only he was doubtful of the success of this expedition, (wherein he himself had some command), seigned himself mad, and set his house on fire. Others say, he did not counterfeit madness, but set his house on fire in the night, and the next morning went into the forum with an aspect of great distress, and besought the people, in consideration of his missortune, to release his son from the service, who was ordered to go captain of a galley.

The genius of Socrates did on this occasion by the usual figns reveal to him what would be the event of that expedition, intimating that it would be the ruin of the commonwealth. Socrates imparted this to his friends and acquaintance, and the report

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foon became public. Many were much troubled and discouraged, because of a festival, which fell out at the time when the fleet was just ready to fail. The women were at that very time celebrating the feast of Adonis, during which the streets were full of images of dead men, and funeral processions, and rung with the cries and lamentations of those who assisted at the solemnity; so that such as laid any stress on things of this kind, were extremely troubled, and feared lest all these warlike preparations, so splendid and so glorious, should be blasted on a sudden, and come to nothing.

Nicias in oppofing this enterprife while it was under deliberation, and in not fuffering himfelf to be fo elated by vain hopes or the honour of being appointed commander, as ever to depart from his opinion, certainly showed himself a wife and honest man. But when he faw that he could not divert the people from the war by all his efforts, nor get himself exempted from the command by all his entreaties, but that he was thrust into it forcibly and against his will, his great caution and timidity were then out of feason; it was childish in him to be continually looking back from his ship, and inceffantly repeating that he had been over-ruled, and that the war was undertaken contrary to his opinion. This only ferved to dishearten his colleagues, blunt the courage of his troops, and deaden in them that spirit and confidence, which is the pledge of fuccess in all important undertakings. He ought rather to have rushed upon the enemy immediately, and to have boldly put fortune's favour to the trial. Instead of which, when Lamachus proposed to fail directly to Syracuse, and give the enemy battle under the walls of their city, and Alcibiades was of opinion that they should begin by drawing off the other cities from the Syracufans, and then march against them; Nicias differed from them both, and infifted, that they should cruize around the island, and alarm the coasts, and having landed a small supply of men for the Ægestians, return to Athens. Thus he distracted their counsels, and

funk the spirits of the soldiers.

The Athenians having foon after this recalled Alcibiades, and ordered him home to take his trial, Nicias, who was joined indeed with another in commission, but was first in authority, for the most part remained quite inactive, or merely cruized about the coast, or wasted his time in fruitless deliberations. By this means that vigorous hope and expectation which animated his troops at their first setting out, grew stale and languid, whilst, on the contrary, the fear and terror with which the enemy were seized at the first appearance of so formidable a power, by degrees entirely wore off.

It is true, that, before Alcibiades was recalled, they advanced with fixty galleys towards Syracuse, fifty of which they drew up in order of battle before the haven, and the other ten they sent in to take a view of the place. These advancing up to the walls, caused it to be proclaimed by a herald, that the Leontines were at liberty to return, and take pos-

session of their city.

This fquadron took a galley of the enemy, wherein they found certain tablets, on which was fet down a lift of all the Syracufans, according to their tribes. These were wont to be laid up remote from the city, in the temple of Jupiter Olympius, but were now brought forth to furnish a muster-roll of such as were of an age sit to bear arms. These being thus taken by the Athenians, and carried to the generals, when they saw such a vast number of names, the diviners put an unfortunate construction upon it, intimating, that thus the oracle was fulfilled, which had foretold that the Athenians should take all the Syracusans. It is said indeed that this oracle was literally fulfilled at another time, when

Calippus, after he had flain Dion, made himfelf

mafter of Syracuse.

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After the departure of Alcibiades, and some few that attended him, Nicias had all the power and authority in his own hands. Lamachus indeed was a brave and active man, and very ready to expose his person in an engagement, but withal so poor and indigent, that whenever he returned from the command of the army, and passed his accounts, he always charged the public with a finall fum laid out for cloaths and shoes. But Nicias, as he was proud of his many other high qualities, fo more efpecially of his dignity and riches. It is faid, that once, upon another occasion, when he and his colleagues were fitting together in council, he defired Sophocles the poet, who was one of those joined in commission with him, to deliver his opinion first, because he was the eldest. I am, replied Sophocles, indeed your senior in point of years, but you are my superior in point of merit and dignity. Looking therefore on Lamachus as his inferior, though he was an abler officer, he managed the war in a dilatory manner, and with a timorous circumfpection, failing now and then round the island, but always keeping aloof from the enemy, which added much to their courage and confidence. After this, he went and fat down before Hybla, a town of little consequence or defence, notwithstanding which he raised the fiege in a few days, which made him still more defpifed by the enemy than before. At last, he retired to Catana without having performed any one action but the demolishing Hyccara, a small town belonging to the Barbarians. Here it is faid, Lais the courtezan being then very young, and a virgin, was fold among other captives, and carried into Peloponneius,

Towards the end of the fummer, he was informed that the Syracufans, taking courage, were preparing to attack him, and ftrike the first blow; and

the cavalry had already advanced with great insolence to insult him in his camp, asking him, If he was not rather come to settle at Catana, than to restore the

Leontines to their houses and possessions?

It was with difficulty that Nicias could be perfuaded on this occasion to fail for Syracuse. But as he was defirous to form his camp before the place without molestation, he fecretly fent a man from Catana to Syracuse, who was to act the part of a deferter, and inform the Syracufans, that if they had a mind to surprise the camp of the Athenians, and make themselves masters of their arms and baggage, they must come with their whole force on a particular day, which he named to them; for as the Athenians spent most of their time in the city, those of the inhabitants who were in the interest of the Syracufans, had agreed, as foon as they appeared, to feize on the city-gates, and fet fire to the Athenian fleet; that the number of those who were engaged in this undertaking was very great, and that they only waited for their arrival.

This was the only warlike exploit of consequence that he performed all the while he was in Sicily. For having by this stratagem enticed the enemy out of the city, which was left destitute, and desence-less, he sailed directly thither from Catana, seized at once on all the ports, and made choice of an advantageous piece of ground for his encampment, where the enemy could not annoy him with that in which their chief strength consisted, and from whence he might attack them without any impediment, with that wherein he placed his greatest

confidence.

When the Syracusans returned from Catana, and drew up in order of battle before the city-gates, he immediately fallied out upon them and defeated them. However, he slew not many on that occasion, for the horse hindered the pursuit. He had broken down, and demolished all the bridges that

lay over the river, which gave occasion to Hermocrates general of the Syracufans to encourage his men with this pleasant remark, that the conduct of Nicias was very ridiculous, who, though he was at the bead of an army, made it his great care to avoid fighting, as if, fighting was not the business he came for. However this defeat of their forces put them into fo te: rible a consternation that instead of the fifteen generals then in commission, they chose three others, whom the people obliged themselves by oath to obey in every thing, giving them a full power to refolve and act as they thought convenient.

As the temple of Jupiter Olympius stood near the camp, the Athenians were very defirous to take it, because it was enriched with many offerings both of gold and filver. Nicias delayed from time to time to order any troops thither to feize it, and thereby gave the Syracufans an opportunity of fending a detachment to fecure it. I his he did on purpose, conceiving that if the foldiers were fuffered to pillage it, the public would receive no benefit by it, and the guilt of facrilege would fall upon him.

The news of the late victory foon fpread over all Sicily, and yet Nicias made not the leaft improvement of it; for a few days after he withdrew his troops to Naxus, where the army lay in winterquarters at a vast expense, whilst he performed only a few inconfiderable actions, with the affiftance of fome Sicilians that had revolted to him. So that the Syracufans, who were by this time recovered from their fright, had the courage to return to Catana, where they ravaged the country, and burnt the camp of the Athenians. The blame of all this was laid upon Nicias, who was always reasoning, debating, and contriving, when he should have been

in action; and yet when once he was engaged, no man could find fault with his behaviour, for he was X 3

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quick and vigorous in executing, though he was

flow and timorous in refolving.

Having determined to return with his army before Syracuse, he executed his design with so much
vigour and celerity, and at the same time with so
much caution and security, that he arrived with his
galleys at the peninsula of I hapsus, made a descent,
and got possession of the fort of Epipolæ, before
the enemy had the least notice of his motions. On
this occasion he deseated a select body of infantry
that was sent to the assistance of the fort, took
three hundred prisoners, and routed their cavalry,
which till then had been thought invincible.

But that which chiefly aftonished the Syracusans, and feemed incredible to the Grecians, was, that in a short space of time he inclosed Syracuse within a wall, a city not less than Athens, but far more difficult to be inclosed, from the unevenness of the ground, the nearness of the sea, and the marshes that lay nigh it. Notwithstanding which this great work was in a manner finished, though Nicias was all that while in an ill state health, from the pain of the stone to which he was subject; and this may be allowed as a just reason why that wall was not entirely completed. For my part, I cannot but admire the indefatigable care of the general, as well as the exemplary courage of the foldiers in the many fuccessful actions wherein they were engaged. Euripides after their defeat and flaughter honoured their memory with this elegy.

These eight times made the Syracusans yield, Though all the gods stood neuter in the field.

And indeed we shall not find only eight, but many more victories won by the Athenians over the Syracusans; till the gods or fortune declared against them, and gave them a check, at a time when they were arrived at the highest point of their power and greatness. Nicias was present in person in most of these actions, in which he did violence to his constitution. But when his distemper increased, and became very acute, he was forced to keep within the camp, with few servants to attend him.

In the mean time Lamachus, who was now commander in chief, came to an engagement with the Syracufans, who were drawing a crofs wall from the city in order to hinder the Athenians from finishing theirs. The Athenians having the advantage, and being flushed with victory, pursued the Syracusans too far, and left Lamachus almost alone to sustain the brunt of the enemy's horfe, who were coming to attack him. They were commanded by Callicrates, an experienced officer, and a person of distinguished courage. This man advanced at the head of his troop, and challenged Lamachus, who immediately encountered him, and received the first wound, which proved mortal, and which in the very inftant he returned upon his adversary, fo that they both fell down, and died together. The Syracufans remaining mafters of the body and arms of Lamachus, carried them off, and, without losing a moment's time, marched to the camp of the Athenians, where Nicias lay without any guards to defend him. However, as foon as he was informed of their approach, being roufed by necessity, and fenfible of the danger with which he was threatened, he commanded those about him immediately to set fire to the materials under the wall, which had been provided for the engines, and to the engines themfelves. This put a stop to the Syracufans, and faved Nicias, together with the camp, and all the treafure of the Athenians. For as foon as they beheld the flames rifing in vaft columns over their heads, and fpreading on every fide, they were terrified, and drew off.

After this action Nicias was the fole commander, and entertained great hopes of fuccess. For many of the cities revolted to him, and ships arrived

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from all parts with provisions for his army, every one being impatient to declare in his favour, whilft his affairs were in a prosperous condition. So that the Syracufans themselves, thinking it impossible to hold out much longer, offered him terms of accommodation. And when Gylippus, who was coming to their relief with a fleet from Sparta, was informed by the way of the extremities to which they were reduced, and of the wall that had hemmed them in, he continued his course not with any defign to defend Sicily, which he gave for loft, but to preserve the cities in Italy, if at least he came not too late even for that fervice. For theme had reported every where, that the Athenians carried all before them, and that they were under a general whom prudence, feconded by fortune, had rendered invincible. Even Nicias himself, contrary to his natural temper, prefuming upon his forces and fuccefs, but especially perfuaded by the intelligence he privately received from Syracuse, that the city would foon furrender upon terms, was not in the least concerned at the approach of Gylippus, nor placed any guard to prevent his landing; fo that, in . confequence of this negligence, and contempt, the Spartan general croffed the strait, and landed without the knowledge of Nicias, or any of the Athenians, at a great distance from Syracuse, and soon raifed a numerous army. The Syracufans were fo ignorant of his arrival, and fo little expected him, that they had that very day fummoned an affembly to regulate the articles of capitulation, which they were to prefent to Nicias, and feveral were already met preffing dispatch, that every thing might be fettled before the wall was completely finished; for there remained but very little to be done, and all the materials lay ready upon the place.

Just at this instant of their greatest danger, an officer, called Gongylus, arrived on board a galley from Corinth. Immediately upon his arrival all

the people flocked about him, and he told them, that Gylippus was hard by, and that feveral other ships were following with succours to relieve them. Whilst the Syracusans were in suspense, and knew not how to give credit to Gongylus, an express arrived from Gylippus, with orders to them to march out and meet him. At this they took heart, and

armed immediately.

As foon as Gylippus arrived before the town, he drew his troops up in order of battle; Nicias on his part did the like, and the two armies were just ready to engage, when Gylippus laying down his arms, fent a herald to tell the Athenians, That if they would quit Sicily, they might retire with fecurity. Nicias would not vouchfafe an answer to this declaration, but some of the foldiers fell a-laughing, and asked the herald, If the sight of a Lacedæmonian cloak and staff had so suddenly mended the affairs of the Syracusans, as to put them in a condition to despise the Athenians, who had very lately knocked off the chains of three hundred Spartans, and released them, who were all better men, and wore longer locks than Gylippus? Timæus writes, that the Sicilians never had any high opinion of Gylippus. At first they laughed at him for his short cloak and long hair, as they afterwards hated him for his avarice, and meanness of spirit. And yet the same historian adds afterwards, that as foon as Gylippus appeared, they all flocked about him, as the birds do about an owl, and lifted in the fervice. And this is much more probable than what we faid before; for in the cloak and staff they faw the dignity of Sparta, and therefore crouded to him out of respect to his authority. And Thucydides affirms, that all the work was done by him alone: fo does Philistus, who was a Syracusan, and a spectator of all that was transacted.

The Athenians had the advantage in the first encounter, and slew some of the Syracusans, to-

gether with Gongylus of Corinth. But the next day Gylippus showed of how much importance it is to have a skilful and experienced commander; for with the same arms, the same horses, and on the same spot of ground, by changing only the order of the battle, he overthrew the Athenians; and when they fled to their camp, he set the Syracusans to work, and with the stone and materials that had been brought together for sinishing the wall of the Athenians, he built a cross-wall to intercept theirs and break it down, for that it would be useless to the Athenians even if they should gain a victory.

The Syracusans being encouraged by this success, manned several galleys, and in the excursions of their cavalry took many prisoners. Gylippus himself visited the towns, exhorting them to join with him; they all listened to him, and readily supplied him. This made Nicias relapse into his former dissidence, and resecting on the sudden change of affairs he became dispirited, and wrote to the Athenians, desiring them either to send another army into Sicily, or withdraw that which was there, and at the same time to discharge him from the command, he being no longer capable of the service by reason

of his infirmities.

Before the Athenians had received these letters, they had resolved to send another army into Sicily; but some among them envying Nicias his late success, retarded the effects of that resolution, under several specious pretences. But now his missortunes wrought a quite contrary effect; for they immediately decreed, that Demosthenes should fail in the very beginning of the spring with a strong naval sorce, and that Eurymedon should proceed instantly in the depth of winter with six galleys, and with pay for the soldiers, and that upon his arrival he should declare Euthydemus and Menander, two officers who were serving under Nicias, to be joint commanders with him.

forced

In the mean time Nicias was at once attacked both by sea and land; at first his fleet was worsted by that of Syracuse, but in the end the Athenians prevailed, and funk and destroyed many of the enemy's galleys. He was not fo fuccefsful by land; for not being able to provide fuccours in time, Gylippus fell upon Plemmyrium, and took it at the first affault; fo that he became mafter of all the treafure of the Athenians, their provisions, and naval ftores, which had been lodged there. Most of the foldiers in the garrifon were either killed or taken. But what was of the greatest importance, Nicias by the loss of this place lost the convenience of his convoys; for whilft Plemmyrium was in his poffeffion the communication was fafe and easy, but that being now taken, the paffage was difficult and hazardous; for his transports could not possibly pass without fighting, as the enemy's ships lay at anchor under that fortrefs.

Besides, the Syracusans were persuaded, that their late defeat was not owing to the strength and superiority of the enemy, but only to their own diforderly pursuit. Whefore they resolved upon a second engagement, and accordingly fitted out another fleet more numerous and better equipped than the former. But Nicias declined fighting, and declared, that at a time when they were in daily expectation of a fresh fleet, and powerful reinforcements, which Demosthenes was bringing in all haste to them, it was madness in them to hazard an engagement with an inferior number of ships, and those ill provided. But Menander and Euthydemus being puffed up with their new authority, refolved upon fome brave action, wherein they might be beforehand with Demosthenes, and outdo even Nicias. Their pretence was the honour of Athens; and they maintained that it would be an eternal difgrace to their country, if they declined fighting when the Syracufans dared them to battle.

forced Nicias to an engagement, wherein he was defeated by a stratagem of Ariston the Corinthian, who had the command of the galleys of Syracuse. The left wing of the Athenians was routed, as Thucydides relates it, and they lost great numbers of their men, and several galleys. This loss threw Nicias into the greatest consternation. He considered that he was not able to keep his ground when he had the sole command, and was now in a worse state than ever through the obstinacy of his colleagues.

In the mean time the enemy descried Demosthenes riding before the haven with a very magnificent and formidable fleet: for he had with him seventythree galleys, on board of which were five thousand foot, and no less than three thousand slingers and archers. The glittering of their armour, the waving of the streamers, and the sound of their music, gave the whole an air of theatrical magnificence, and seemed contrived on purpose to strike

the enemy with terrour and confusion.

Thus the Syracusans were driven back to their first alarms and perplexities; they saw no end or respite to their calamities; all their past toils, wounds, and losses, seemed now unprofitable. However Nicias did not long enjoy the pleasure which he felt at the arrival of this powerful reinforcement; for in his first conference with Demosthenes, he found him bent upon attacking the enemy without delay; he was for hazarding all at once, for taking Syracuse by assault, and returning then to Athens.

Nicias, amazed and terrified at this precipitation and temerity, did all he could to diffuade him from an action fo rash and desperate; he represented to him that nothing could annoy the enemy so much as delay, they being then in want of money, and their allies being ready to forsake them; that when once they came to be pinched with want, they would sue to him for articles of capitulation, as they

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had done before. For there were some persons in the town with whom he carried on a secret correspondence, and who advised him not to be in haste, telling him that the Syracusans were weary of the war, and displeased with Gylippus, and that when their necessities came to grow upon them, they would surrender at discretion.

All this was represented by Nicias, not in plain terms, but by obscure hints, which made Demosthenes and the other generals impute his advice to cowardice. They said, he was now returning to his former affected delays and over-cautious deliberations, by which he let slip the fairest opportunities of action, and suffered the ardour of his troops to cool by putting off all his enterprises till it was too late, and till he was become contemptible to the enemy. Upon these considerations the other generals joined with Demosthenes, and Nicias himself was at last forced to comply.

Hereupon Demosthenes, with a party of foot, by night made an affault upon Epipolæ; fome of the enemy he flew ere they could take the alarm; the rest who defended themselves, he put to flight. Nor was he content with this advantage, but pushed on further, till he met with the Bœotians, who were the first that formed, and who with loud fhouts, levelling their spears, attacked the Athenians, and made a great flaughter among them. The whole army was immediately in the utmost consternation; they who still kept their ground, and were victorious, were encountered by those that fled, and they who were marching down from Epipolæ to fustain their companions, being repulsed by the fugitives, fell foul on one another, and took their friends for their enemies. This tumult and confusion reduced the Athenians to the utmost distress; and their danger was further increased by the impossibility of clearly discerning objects amid the gloom and horrours of a night, which though not totally dark, yielded only a faint gleam of light very infufficient

infufficient for a diftinct view of any thing. For the moon was then just fetting, and what little light she gave was rendered useless by the shade of so many bodies and weapons moving to and fro; fo that the apprehension of an enemy made even a friend fufpected and feared. Beside this, they had the moon on their backs, which cafting their shadows before them, both hid the numbers of their men, and the glittering of their armour; whereas the reflection of the light from the shields of the enemy, made them appear more numerous, and better armed than indeed they were. At laft, being pressed on every fide, when once they gave ground, many of them fell by the hands of the enemy, and as many by their own. Several fell headlong down the rocks, others were difperfed, and ran straggling up and down in the fields, where they were picked up the next morning by the enemy's horse, and put to the The Athenians loft two thousand men in this action; very few elcaped, and returned fafe with their arms to their companions.

Nicias being exceedingly afflicted at this disaster, which indeed he had foreseen, loudly inveighed against the rashness and precipitation of Demosthenes: but he, after he had justified himself in the best manner he could, gave his opinion, That thy should immediatly embark, and depart, for they were to expess no other army, and it was impossible for them to beat the enemy with that they had; that in case they did beat them, yet they would be under a necessity of abandoning a place, which, it is well known, was always unbealthy for an army, and especially destructive in that season of the year, as they found to their cost. For it was then the beginning of autumn, and many of the soldiers were sick, and all of them dispirited.

But Nicias could not bear to hear of an embarkation; not that he did not fear the Syracusans, but he was more afraid of the Athenians, their tribunals and accusations. He therefore maintained,

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That they might remain in their present camp without any danger, and that, at the worst, it was better to fall by the hands of their enemies, than by those of their own citizens. In this he was of an opinion quite different from that of Leo of Byzantium, who, long after the days of Nicias, said to his citizens, I had rather fall by you than with you. Nicias added, That they might at their leisure consider what other situation would be

most commodious for the army.

Nicias having declared his fentiments in these terms, Demosthenes, who had no reason to value himself upon his former advice, durst not oppose it. The other officers imagined that Nicias had some private intelligence, which fed his hopes, and made him so strenuously oppose a retreat; so that they likewise submitted to his opinion. But fresh forces arriving soon after at Syracuse, and the contagion spreading in the camp of the Athenians, Nicias changed his opinion, and joined with those who were for a retreat. Accordingly he commanded the soldiers to be in readiness to embark.

When the proper dispositions were made, and they just ready to go aboard, without being in the least observed or suspected by the enemy, the moonon a fudden in the dead of the night was eclipfed, to the great terror of Nicias and the rest, who, out of ignorance or fuperstition, were astonished and. terrified at such appearances. An eclipse of the fun, which happens during the time of the conjunction, they could in some measure account for that, for even the ordinary people knew, that the interposition of the moon was the occasion of it: but for the eclipse of the moon, they knew not by the interpolition of what body it happened, nor how it could come to pass, that being at the full, it shouldall on a fudden be darkened, and affume fuch a variety of colours. They confidered this appearance, therefore, as fomething supernatural, and the forerunner of some grievous calamities, with which

the gods threatened mankind.

Anaxagoras was the first, who, with great perspicuity and certainty, showed how the moon came to be illuminated and overshadowed. But he was an author of no antiquity, nor were his writings much known; for they were in the hands only of a few, who did not communicate them but to persons in whom they could confide, and that with much secrecy and precaution. For the people had an aversion to natural philosophers, and such as were then called meteoroleschæ, that is, those who discourse upon meteors, supposing that they besieved the divine power, by deducing things from natural undesigning causes and an inevitable necessity.

Protagoras was banished Athens for maintaining this doctrine; and Anaxagoras was thrown into prison, out of which Pericles was forced to make use of all his interest and authority to release him; and even Socrates, though he meddled not at all with that fort of learning, yet was put to death on account of his philosophy. At length, his disciple Plato, whose doctrine gained great authority from his exemplary life, and from his fubmitting natural necessity to a divine principle, wiped off the obloquy and reproach which had been caft upon those contemplations, and brought the study of the mathematics into reputation. Wherefore, his friend Dion, though an eclipfe of the moon happened just at the time when he was ready to fail from Zacynthus against Dionysius, yet was not at all difmayed at it, but proceeding on his voyage, landed in Sicily, and expelled the tyrant.

But Nicias was fo unfortunate in this conjuncture, as to have no diviner with him of experience and ability; Stilbides, who attended him into Sicily, and had much weaned him from his superstition, happening to die some time before. For an eclipse of the moon, as Philochorus has observed,

could not be ominous to those who were flying, but on the contrary favourable; for those things which we do with fear, stand in need of darkness to conceal them, the light in that case being a most formidable enemy. Besides, it never was usual after an eclipse of the sun or moon to observe those luminaries, and abstain from action for above three days together, as Anticlides has observed in his commentaries: whereas Nicias was for waiting another entire revolution of the moon, as if he could not perceive her as clear and bright as ever, the moment the paffed the shadow occasioned by the interposition of the earth. Wherefore in a superstitious manner abandoning almost all other cares, he employed himself in facrificing; till the enemy came upon him, and with their land-forces attacked his camp, and ranged their fleet in a circle round the harbour. Nor did the men only from their gallevs infult him, but even the fisher boys in skiffs and boats rowed up to the ships of the Athenians, challenging them to fight, and loading them with the most contemptuous language.

One of these youths of noble parentage called Heraclides, advancing too far, had like to have been taken by one of the Athenian galleys that chased him. His uncle Pollichus being in great pain for him, went to his assistance with ten galleys, which were under his command. Those in the other galleys, being as much concerned for him as he was for his nephew, advanced to support him. This brought on a general engagement, which was very sharp and obstinate; but, in the end, the Syracufans had the advantage, and the Athenians lost a great number of men, among whom was Euryme-

don.

Hereupon the Athenian foldiers had no patience to stay longer, but mutinied against their officers, requiring them to depart by land; for the Syracufans had immediately upon their victory blocked up

the entrance of the harbour. But Nicias could not be brought to confent to this; for he thought it a fhameful thing to leave so many ships of burden, and near two hundred galleys, as a prey to the enemy. Wherefore causing the flower of his infantry and the ablest of those who fought with javelins to embark, he manned a hundred and ten galleys, for the rest wanted oars. The remainder of his army he posted along the sea-side, abandoning his camp, and the walls which extended as far as the temple of Hercules. Wherefore the Syracusans, who had it not in their power for some time before to perform their usual facrifices to that god, immediately sent thither their priests and generals,

to acquit themselves of that duty.

When the troops were embarked, the diviners affired the Syracufans from the entrails of their victims, that glory and conquest attended them, provided they were not the aggreffors, but kept upon the defensive; for Hercules himself, they faid, accomplished his labours, and obtained his victories by keeping upon the defensive, and repelling the violence that was offered him. encouraged, they rowed towards the enemy. This battle proved more obstinate and bloody than any of the former, and raifed no less concern and pasfion in the two armies who beheld it from the shore, than in those who were actually engaged in it; for they had a diffinct view of the whole fight, which was confined to a narrow space, and the turns were many and unexpected. The Athenians fuffered no less from their own fleet than from the enemy. For their ships were all crouded together, and were besides heavy and unwieldy, while those of the enemy were light and nimble, fo that they could eafily change their fituation, and attack the Athenians on all fides. They were affaulted with a shower of stones, which never failed to hit them from whatever part they were discharged; this they answered answered only with darts, and arrows, the flight of which was diverted by the working of the ship, fo that few of them could reach the mark at which they were levelled. Herein the enemy followed the advice of Ariston the Corinthian, who, after he had given great proofs of his courage and ability, fell in the very inftant when victory was declaring for

the Syracufans.

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After this great defeat, and the loss of fo many Athenians, their flight was cut off by fea, and their fafety by land very uncertain. The fense of this threw them into fuch a despondency, that they never offered to repel the enemy when they approached to tow off their galleys; they did not fo much as demand their dead, thinking their want of burial a less calamity, than the leaving their fick and wounded behind them. All this they had before their eyes, but they found themselves in a still more deplorable condition. They faw they could not avoid the same fate, and that it would come upon them after they had fuffered many more diftreffes.

As the Athenians were preparing to take the benefit of the night, and retire by land, Gylippus obferving the Syracufans employed in facrificing and drinking, on account of the victory, and because the festival of Hercules happened on that very day, concluded that it was not in his power either to perfuade or force them to take arms, and fall upon the Athenians as they were drawing off. he was under this perplexity, Hermocrates contrived the following stratagem. He sent some perfons in whom he could confide to Nicias, who told him they came from those friends of his, with whom he had held a fecret correspondence during the whole course of the war, and that they were ordered to caution him against making any motions that night, because the Syracusans lay in ambush for him, and had beset all the ways. Nicias being caught by this stratagem, remained in his

his camp, and through this false apprehension of danger exposed himself to that destruction which he was endeavouring to avoid; for early the next morning the enemy fecured all the difficult paffes. fortified those places of the rivers which were fordable, broke down the bridges, and posted parties of horse in the flat part of the country, so that it was impossible for the Athenians to stir without fight-They remained that day and the night following in their former fituation, and when they began to move, they filled the air with loud outcries and lamentations, as if they were not quitting an enemy's country, but their native habitations, fo much were they afflicted not only on account of the preffing want to which they were reduced, but for the fake of their friends and companions, who through fickness, or the wounds they had received, were not able to follow them, and were therefore necessarily to be left behind. And yet, even in this deplorable state, they deemed their present sufferings much lighter than those they expected.

But of all the melancholy objects with which the camp abounded, that which most excited compasfion, was Nicias himfelf, labouring under his diftemper, undefervedly reduced to the last extremities, and in want of things the most necessary at a time when his age and infirmities required peculiar care and indulgence. And yet, notwithstanding his great weakness, he underwent with courage and patience what many in a perfect state of health would think insupportable; and it was very obvious that it was not for his own fake, or out of any fondness of life, that he bore up under such a burden, but that, for the fake of those under his command, he endeavoured to keep hope alive. And whilft the rest wept and lamented, and abandoned themselves to grief and despair, if at any time he was forced to drop a tear, it was manifest that the cause of it was the reflection on the ignominy and dishonour

dishonour which was the consequence of an expedition from which he had promised himself so much

glory and renown.

But if the fight of his prefent calamities moved compassion, that compassion was infinitely augmented when they called to mind his many speeches and remonstrances at Athens, to dissuade the Athenians from that undertaking. This consideration convinced them still more that he was a guilt-less sufferer. All hope and considence in the gods vanished, when they beheld a person remarkable for his piety, and who had often personmed such magnificent acts of devotion, as severely treated by fortune as the most profligate wretch in the army.

Nicias however endeavoured all the while, by his voice, his countenance, and mild behaviour, to show that he did not fink under his misfortunes. During a march of eight days together, though he was harassed, attacked, and wounded by the enemy, yet he preserved the body under his command entire; till Demosthenes, who followed in the rear, was taken prisoner with all his party. They were surrounded by the enemy in a small village called Polyzelia, where he defended himself for some time with great courage and resolution; but when he found it to no purpose, he stabbed himself with his own sword, though the wound did not prove mortal, as the enemy immediately rushed in upon him, and seized him.

Some of the Syracusan cavalry came up, and acquainted Nicias with this terrible disaster. Upon this he sent some of his own horse for a more perfect information; when they were returned, and he was convinced of the truth, then he sent to demand a truce of Gylippus, and proposed, that the Athenians might be suffered to depart in safety out of Sicily, and that hostages should be given for paying to the Syracusans all the charges they had been at during the war. The Syracusans rejected

the proposition with great disdain and insolence, accompanied their refusal with scotts and menaces,

and then renewed the charge.

Though Nicias was destitute of all conveniencies and necessaries, and was constantly exposed to the enemy's weapons, yet he made good his retreat all that night, and the next day arrived at the river Afinarus. There the Syracufans coming up to him, forced many of the Athenians headlong into the stream, whither others ready to die with thirst had impatiently flung themselves before, who were inhumanly maffacred whilft they were drink-The Synacufans continued the flaughter, till Nicias throwing himself at the knees of Gylippus faid, In the midst of victory, O Gylippus, suffer yourfelf to be touched with pity, not of me, whom an excess of misery has made famous, but of these unhappy Athenians. Consider how uncertain the fortune of war is, and do not forget that the Athenians, whenever they fucceeded against the Lacedamonians, always used their victories with moderation and generofity.

Gylippus was struck at the fight of Nicias, and at what he had spoken, and selt some sentiments of compassion. He remembered that Nicias had done the Lacedæmonians many good offices in the late treaty; besides, he thought nothing could contribute more to his glory, than to have two of the enemy's generals his prisoners. He therefore raisfed up Nicias, comforted him, and gave orders to spare the Athenians that were remaining; but the word of command being communicated slowly, the slain were much more in number than the prisoners, though the soldiers had secreted several un-

known to their officers.

After they had brought together all the prisoners that they could find, they adorned the tallest and most beautiful trees on the banks of the river, with the arms of the captives. Then crowning themselves with garlands, dressing their own horses

them

fes in their finest furniture, and cropping those of the enemy, they returned to the city, where they made a triumphant entry, having put a glorious end to a war, the most desperate of any that had ever been carried on by Greeks against Greeks, and obtained by their valour and resolution a most sig-

nal and complete victory.

As foon as they had made their entry, a general affembly was called of all the Syracufans and their confederates, in which Eurycles the orator proposed the following decree: That the day on which Nicias was taken should be observed as a solemn festival, at which they should rest from all manner of work, and offer up facrifices, and that the feast should be called Afinaria, from the name of the river where he furrendered. This was the twenty-feventh day of the month Carneus, called by the Athenians, Metagitnion [ Auguft]. He proposed besides, that the servants of the Athenians, and all their allies should be fold at public auction: that the Athenians themselves, and as many Sicilians as had embraced their party, should be fent prisoners to the quarries, except the two generals, who were immediately to be put to death.

While this decree was passing, Hermocrates flood up, and faid, That victory well used was more glorious than victory itself; but these words were received with a general uproar in the affembly; and when Gylippus required the two generals to be delivered up to him, to be carried by him to Sparta, the Syracufans, puffed up with their good fortune, treated him with great infolence and contempt. They had before this been difgusted at him for his haughtiness and laconic austerity. And I imæus fays that they were offended at his fordid avarice, which vice he inherited from his father Cleandrides, who had been convicted of bribery and banished; and Gylippus himself having afterwards embezzled thirty talents of the thousand which Lyfander had fent by him to Sparta, and hid

them under the tiles of his house, was forced to fly his country with ignominy, as we have more fully related in the life of Lysander. Timæus does not say, that Demosthenes and Nicias were put to death by order of the Syracusans, as Thucydides and Philistus write, but that before the assembly was broke up, Hermocrates sent to inform them of what was passing by one of his considents, who was admitted to them by the guards, and that upon his information they slew themselves. Their bodies were thrown out, and lay a long time at the prisondoor, to be viewed by every one that pleased. I have been told, that, even at this day, there is shown in the temple of Syracuse a shield, which they say was that of Nicias, curiously wrought, and covered

with gold and purple.

Of the other Athenian prisoners the greatest part perished in the quarries, by dlseafes and bad diet, for they were allowed but a pint of barley a-day, and half a pint of water. Many of those who had been fecreted by the foldiers, or had escaped under the character of servants, were fold for flaves, having the figure of a horse imprinted on their foreheads. These last, who, beside the miseries of bondage, had fuffered that brand, gained much by their modesty and patience, so that they were either foon restored to their liberty, or if they continued with their mafters, were treated with great tenderness and respect. Several amongst them were faved for the fake of Euripides; for his muse was more efteemed in Sicily than in any other of the Grecian colonies. And when any travellers arrived, that could prefent the Sicilians with a copy of his verses, they got them by heart, and with great delight repeated them to one another. It is faid that many of those who were preserved, after they got home, went and made their acknowledgments to Euripides, some of them telling him, that they had been released out of slavery for having taught their

their masters such passages as they could remember out of his writings; others, that when they were wandering up and down after the fight, they were relieved with meat and drink for repeating some of his verses. Nor is this to be wondered at; for it is reported, that when a ship belonging to the town of Caunus, being chased by pirates, came to a port of Sicily, the Sicilians refused to admit them at first, and would have forced them out to sea; but when one of them asked those aboard if they could repeat any of the verses of Euripides, and they replied that they could, they then received them into the harbour.

It is faid, that the Athenians would not at first give any credit to the report of this overthrow, and chiefly for the fake of the reporter. For an unknown person landing at the Piræus, and stopping at a barber's shop, began to discourse of the affairs in Sicily, as if the Athenians had already been informed of what had lately passed in that island. The barber hearing it, without staying till the stranger had related it to others, ran immediately into the city, where meeting with the archons, he told them the news publicly, just as he had heard it. The whole city was foon feized with great trouble and confusion. The archons called an affembly of the people, and produced the barber. They immediately asked him who was his author; and when he could not give them any fatisfactory account of the matter, he was taken for a fpreader of false news, and one who fought to inflame the minds of the people. Upon this they fastened him to the wheel, where he bore the torture for a good while, till at length some credible persons arrived, who gave them a distinct account of the whole difaster. So unwilling were the Athenians to believe that Nicias was fallen into those calamities, which he had fo often foretold them.

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## LIFE

OF

## AGESILAUS.

Rchidamus, the fon of Zeuxidamus, having reigned gloriously over the Lacedæmonians, left behind him two fons, Agis the elder, whom he had by Lampido, a woman of a very illustrious family, and Agefilaus, much the younger, whom he had by Eupolia, the daughter of Melifippidas. As the crown belonged to Agis by law, Agesflaus, who in all probability was to be but a private man, was educated according to the usual discipline of the country, which was very laborious and fevere, but fuch as taught young men how to obey their fuperiours. Hence Simonides, they fay, called Sparta the tamer of men, because, by a strictness of education, the citizens were inured to obedience of the laws, and rendered patient of fubjection, as horses are broke when they are colts. The law did not hold fo strict a rein on the heirs to the crown: but Agefilaus, who was a younger brother, was taught by his education to obey before he was advanced to the government. Hence it was that he became the most popular of the Spartan kings, having learned how to temper the grandeur of a royal condition with that humanity and complacency to which he had been formed by his education.

While he was yet a boy, bred up in one of the fchools

schools or societies of youth, he was beloved by Lysander, who much admired that ingenuous modesty which he found in him: for though he was one of the highest spirit and greatest bravery of any of his companions, was always ambitious of pre-eminence among them, towards which the impetuous vigour and fervour of his mind irresistibly carried him; yet on the other side he was so mild and gentle in his nature, that though he would do nothing from fear, yet from modesty he would do every thing that was injoined him, being more af-

fected with reproach than afraid of labour.

He was lame of one leg; but this deformity was rendered less apparent by the beauty of his person when he was young; and the cheerfulness with which he supported his misfortune, and his readiness to jest upon it himself made amends for the defect. And indeed it was a strong argument of his love to glory, that, notwithstanding his lameness, he declined no labour in the pursuit of it. Neither his statue nor picture are extant, as he never allowed them in his life, and utterly forbade them to be made after his death. He is faid to have been little, and to have no great dignity of aspect; but his gaiety and vivacity, his agreeable conversation, and freedom from all moroseness and haughtiness either in his looks or expressions, made him more amiable, even in his old age, than those who were young and had the greatest advantages of per-However the Lacedæmonians had a fort of aversion to people of a low stature; and Theophrastus writes, that the Ephori laid a fine upon Archidamus for marrying a little wife: For (faid they) she will bring us a race of pygmies instead of kings.

In the reign of Agis the elder brother, Alcibiades (being then an exile from Athens) came from Sicily to Sparta. Before he had been long there, he was suspected of a familiarity with Timza the queen:

fo that Agis refused to own a child of hers, declaring publicly that Alcibiades, and not he, was the father. Nor (if we may believe Duris the historian) was Timæa much concerned at it, for she used to whisper among her servants, that the infant's true name was Alcibiades, not Leotychides. The fame historian adds, that Alcibiades himself did not scruple to fay, That he had not folicited Timæa out of a wantonness of desire, but from an ambition of having his posterity kings of Sparta. This affair obliged Alcibiades to leave Sparta for fear of Agis. But the child had not the honours due to a legitimate prince paid him, nor was he ever owned by Agis, till by his prayers and tears he prevailed with him to declare him his fon before witnesses upon his deathbed. But notwithstanding this, after the death of Agis, Lyfander who had lately conquered the Athenians in a fea-fight, and had great power in Sparta, promoted Agefilaus to the kingdom, urging Leotychides's bastardy as a bar to his pretenfions.

Many of the Spartans, charmed with Agesilaus's virtue, and reckoning it no small advantage to have a king on the throne, who had been educated in the same manner as themselves, and had undergone with them all the severities of the Lacedæmonian discipline, were soon brought to declare for him.

There was at that time in Sparta a certain foothfayer named Diopithes, a man well versed in ancient prophecies, and held in great esteem among them for his knowledge of religion and skill in divination. He declared that it was not lawful for them to make a lame man king of Lacedæmon, citing to that purpose the following oracle:

Though proud, O Sparta! Subject still to fate, Beware when steps unequal move the state;

Lest war rush on thee, doom'd by war to bleed, And woes on woes an endless train succeed.

But Lyfander alleged, that if the Spartans were scrupulous in obeying the oracle, they must beware of Leotychides; for it was not the limping foot of a king that the gods were offended at, but the admission of one who was not a descendent of Hercules, which would make the kingdom to halt indeed. Agefilaus likewife added, that the baftardy of Leotychides was attested by Neptune, who threw Agis out of bed from his wife by a violent earthquake; after which time he did not cohabit with her; yet Leotychides was born above ten months after it. Agefilaus upon these allegations was declared king, and foon poffeffed himfelf of the private estate of Agis, as well as his throne, - Leotychides being wholly rejected as a bastard. But seeing that the kindred of Agis by the mother's fide were persons of worth and virtue, but very poor, he gave them half his brother's estate, and by this popular action gained the good-will, not of them only, but of the Spartans in general, and stifled. that envy that was growing against him upon the account of his fuccession to the kingdom. Xenophon fays of him, I hat, by submitting to the laws of his country, he acquired fuch great power that he could do what he pleased; which is thus to be explained. The chief power was lodged in the hands of the Ephori and fenate; the Ephori were annually chofen, but the fenators held their places during life; both were instituted as bridles to restrain the too absolute power of the kings, as we have already mentioned in the life of Lycurgus. Hence it was that the kings even from the first retained an hereditary aversion to them, and were always at variance with them. But Agestlaus took another course; instead of contending with them, he courted them. He always acted by their advice, and was Z 3

always ready to go when they fent for him. If he were upon his throne hearing causes, and the Ephori came in, he arose to them. Whenever any man was elected into the fenate, he always prefented him with a gown and an ox, as a mark of diftinction. Thus, whilft he feemed to show respect and deference to their power, he fecretly advanced his own, and strengthened the prerogative by acquiring their good-will and friendship. To the other citizens he behaved in fuch a manner that he was less blameable in his enmities than in his friendships: for he never took any unjust advantage against his enemies; but to his friends he was partial beyond the rules of justice. If an enemy had done any thing praise-worthy, he scorned to detract from his due praise; but he knew not how to reprove his friends when they did ill; nay, he would even join with them, and affift them in their injustice. For he thought all offices of friendship commendable, let the matter wherein they were employed be what it would. When any of his adversaries were under a misfortune, he was the first to pity them, and readily gave them his affiftance when they asked it; by which means he became exceedingly popular, and captivated the hearts of all men. His popularity grew at last suspected by the Ephori; and they fined him as a monopolizer of the citizens, who ought to be the common goods of the republic. For as it is the opinion of philofophers, that if all strife and opposition were removed out of the universe, all the heavenly bodies would stand still, and generation and motion cease, by reason of the mutual consent and agreement of all things; fo the Spartan legislator seems to have mingled ambition and emulation among the ingredients of his commonwealth, as the incentives of virtue, thinking that fuch a mutual compliance and forbearance as excluded all contention and reproof, was an indolent ufeless thing, not deserving the name

name of concord. Some think that Homer has this in view when he represents Agamemnon as well pleased with the contention of Ulysses and Achilles, and with the reproaches that passed between them; which he would never have done, unless he had thought that the dissensions of great men were of use to the state. Yet this maxim is not to be granted without restriction; for if the heats grow too great, they are very dangerous and satal to a commonwealth.

Agefilaus was hardly entered upon the government, when news came from Afia, that the Perfian king was making great naval preparations to deprive the Spartans of their empire of the fea. Lyfander was glad of this opportunity of fuccouring his friends in Asia, whom he had there left governours of the cities, and who for their male-adminifiration and tyrannical behaviour had been deposed, and many of them put to death. He therefore perfuaded Agefilaus to undertake the expedition, and by removing the war from Greece into Persia, to prevent the defigns of the Barbarians. He also wrote to his friends in Afia, advising them to fend an embaffy to demand Agefilaus for their general. Agefilaus thereupon coming into the public affembly, offered his fervice, upon condition that he might have thirty eminent Spartans for his lieutenants and counfellors, two thousand of the newly enfranchifed Helots, and fix thousand of the allies. Lyfander's authority and affiftance foon obtained this request; so that he was fent away with the thirty Spartans, of whom Lyfander was the chief, not only in power and reputation, but also in friendship with Agesilaus, who esteemed his procuring him this charge a greater obligation than that of preferring him to the kingdom.

Whilft the army was affembling at Geræstus, Agesilaus went with some of his friends to Aulis, where he dreamed that he heard a man speak to him after this manner: O King of the Lacedæmonians, you cannot but know that till now no one ever was declared general of the Greeks but Agamemnon; and since you command the same men, make war against the same enemies, and begin your expedition from the same place; you ought also to offer such a sacrifice as he offered before he set

fail.

Agefilaus foon remembered that the facrifice which Agamemnon offered was his own daughter, he being fo directed by the oracle. However he was not at all disturbed at it; but as soon as he arose, he told his dream to his friends, adding withal, that he would worship the goddess with such facrifices as would be acceptable to her as a goddefs, and not imitate the rude barbarity of that general. He therefore ordered an hind to be crowned with chaplets, and delivered to his own foothfayer to be offered by him, refolving that the person, who, according to the custom of the country, had been named by the Bootians to that office, should not perform the ceremony. When the Bœotian governours heard this, they were very much offended, and fent officers to Agefilaus, to forbid his facrificing contrary to the laws of the country. They having delivered their message to him, immediately went to the altar, and threw down the quarters of the hind that lay upon it. This gave great uneafiness to Agesilaus, who immediately hoisted fail, being highly incenfed against the Bœotians, and much discouraged at this bad omen, which feemed to prefage an unfuccefsful voyage, and a bad iffue of the whole expedition.

When he came to Ephesus, he found the power and interest of Lysander was unsufferably great; all applications were made to him; great crouds of suitors always attended at his door, all men following and paying their court to him, as if the name of general had for form's sake been given to Agessilaus, while the whole power and authority really

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refided in Lyfander. For none of all the commanders that had been fent into Asia were ever so powerful or fo formidable as he; no one had rewarded his friends better, or had been more fevere against his enemies: and as thefe things had been lately done, they made the greater impression in mens minds; especially when they compared the easy and popular behaviour of Agefilaus with the stern and haughty carriage of Lyfander, and his short and churlish manner of speaking, by which he so subdued their spirits, that they wholly submitted to him, paying little regard to Agefilaus. This first gave offence to the other captains, who could not without indignation fee themselves treated rather as the officers of Lyfander than the counfellors of the king. At length Agefilaus himfelf, who though he was no envious man in his nature, but well pleafed to fee honour conferred on merit, yet was highly jealous of his own glory, and full of courage and ambition, began to apprehend that Lyfander's greatness would foon eclipse his, and carry away from him the reputation of whatever great action should be performed. He therefore acted in this manner. He first opposed him in all his counsels; whatever Lysander advised with the greatest earnestness, was rejected, and other proposals followed. Whoever made any petition to him was certainly denied, if Agefilaus found that he depended upon the interest of Lysander. Nay, even in judicial matters, they who were opposed by Lyfander were fure to gain their cause; and whoever was vifibly favoured by him, rarely escaped without being fined. These things being not done by chance, but constantly and on purpose, Lysander was soon fensible of them, and plainly told his friends, that they fuffered for his fake, bidding them apply to the king, and fuch as had more power with him than he had. By speaking in this manner he defigned to render Agefilaus odious; who therefore,

to affront him still more, appointed him to the office of carver, and in a public company said, Now whoever pleases may go and pay his court to my carver. Lysander, no longer able to brook these indignities, complained at last to Agesilaus himself, telling him, that he knew better than any one how to disgrace his friends. To which Agesilaus replied, I know who they are that pretend to more power than myfelf. That, replied Lysander, is rather said by you, than done by me; but I desire only this sawour of you, that you will assign me some office and place in which I may

ferve you without incurring your displeasure.

Upon this Agefilaus fent him to the Hellespont on an embaffy, where he prevailed on Spithridates a Persian in the province of Pharnabazus, to come to the affistance of the Greeks with two hundred horse, and a great supply of money. However he always retained his refentment for the indignities he had received, fo that he formed a defign of wresting the kingdom out of the hands of the two families which then enjoyed it, and making it wholly elective, thereby leaving the throne open to any Spartan who had merit enough to pretend to it. And it is thought he would have occafioned great commotions in the state, if he had not died in the expedition into Bœotia. So dangerous are ambitious spirits in a state when they transgress the just bounds, and so much the greater is the mischief than the good which they produce. For though Lyfander's pride was unfufferable, and his ambition very unfeasonable, yet might Agesilaus have found out some method of correcting him, less reproachful to a man of his merit and reputation, whose greatest fault was his ambition. Indeed in my opinion they were both equally guilty, and both blinded by the same passion; so that the one would not pay the fubmission due to his prince, nor the other bear with the imperfections of his friend.

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Tisaphernes being at first afraid of Agesilaus, concluded a truce with him, making him believe that the king his mafter would relinquish to him the Grecian cities, and fet them at liberty. But foon after finding a fufficient force drawn together, he refolved upon war; at which Agefilaus was overjoyed. For the expectation from this expedition was great; and he did not think it for his honour. that Xenophon with ten thousand men should march through the heart of Asia to the sea, beating the Persian forces when and how he pleased, and that Agefilaus, at the head of the army of the Spartans, (who then commanded both at fea and land), should raise no monument of his fame among the Grecians by any great action. He therefore revenged the perjury of Tifaphernes by a lawful stratagem. He pretended to march into Caria, whither when he had drawn Tifaphernes and his army, he fuddenly turned back, and invaded Phrygia, where he took many cities, and carried away a great booty. Upon this occasion he convinced his friends that to break a folemn league is to affront the gods; but that to deceive and circumvent an enemy in war, is not only just but honourable, and very agreeable as well as advantageous.

Being weak in cavalry, and being also terrified by an ill omen in the sacrifices, the liver being found to want that lobe which the soothsayers call the head, he retired to Ephesus; where he declared to those that were wealthy, that if they were not inclined to follow him, and serve in person, he would excuse them upon their finding each of them a man and horse. A great many of them accepted of the proposition; so that he soon found his army strengthened not with a number of timorous rich men, but with a considerable body of resolute cavalry. For those who were averse to sighting themselves, hired such as were more martial in their inclinations, and such as loved not to ferve on horseback, substituted in their place such as did. He professed in this to imitate the laudable example of Agamemnon, who took the present of an excellent mare, to excuse a rich coward from

ferving in the army.

When, by Agefilaus's order, the prisoners he had taken in Phrygia were exposed to sale, they were first stripped of their garments, and then sold naked. The cloaths found many buyers; but the bodies being, by the ease they had always lived in, rendered white and tender, were derided and scorned as unserviceable. Agefilaus who stood by at the auction, told his Grecians, These are the men against whom you sight, and those are the things for which ye

fight.

The proper feafon of the year being come, he gave out that he would invade Lydia; which plain dealing of his was mistaken for a stratagem by Tifaphernes, who by not believing Agefilaus, because he had been already deceived by him, over-reached himself. He expected that he would have made choice of Caria, that being a rough country, not fit for horse, in which he deemed Agefilaus to be weak. But when he found him to be as good as his word, and that he was entered into the plains of Sardis, he then was forced to march in all hafte to fuccour that place. As he came up with his cavalry, he cut off feveral of the ftragglers from Agefilaus's army, who were roaming up and down the country for pillage. Agefilaus in the mean time confidering that the enemies horse had outrid the foot, but that he himself had the whole body of his army entire, made hafte to engage them. He mingled his light-armed foot with the horse, commanding them to begin the battle, whilst he brought up the heavy-armed foldiers. The Barbarians were put to flight, and the Grecians pursuing them close, took their camp, and put many of

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them to the fword. The confequence of this vic tory was, that they not only had the liberty of foraging in the Persian provinces, and of plundering them at pleasure, but also saw Tisaphernes pay dearly for all the cruelty he had showed the Greeks, to whom he was a professed enemy. For the King of Persia soon sent another to succeed him, named Tithraustes, who cut off his head, and proposing an accommodation to Agefilaus, fent him by his ambaffadors large fums of money to induce him to it, and to perfuade him to return into Greece: Agefilaus answered, That the making peace belonged to the Lacedamonians, not to him; that as for wealth, he had rather fee it in his foldiers hands than his own; that the Grecians thought it not honourable to enrich themselves with the bribes of their enemies, but with their spoils on-Yet, that he might gratify Tithraustes for the justice he had done upon Tifaphernes the avowed enemy of the Greeks, he removed his army into Phrygia, accepting of thirty talents towards the charge of it. Whilft he was upon his march, he received a letter from the council of Sparta, by which he was conflituted admiral as well as general. He was the first man on whom the Spartans had conferred that honour, and indeed no one had fo well deferved it. For he was confessedly (as Theopompus fomewhere fays) a person of the highest reputation of any of his contemporaries, and yet he chofe rather to derive his grandeur from his virtue than his authority. However he committed a great fault, in preferring Pifander to the command of the navy, when there were many officers at hand both older and wifer; in this not fo much confulting the public good, as the gratification of his kindred, and especially his wife, whose brother Pifander was.

Having removed his camp into Pharnabazus's province, he not only met with great plenty of provisions, but also raised great sums of money;

and marching on to Paphlagonia, he foon drew Cotys, the king of it, into a league, to which he of his own accord inclined, out of the esteem he

had of Agefilaus's honour and virtue.

Spithridates, who had quitted Pharnabazus's fervice before, and joined Agefilaus, never left him, but accompanied him where-ever he went. He had a fon named Megabates, a youth of great beauty, of whom Agefilaus was enamoured, and a very beautiful daughter, who was marriageable. Her Agefilaus matched to Cotys; and taking of him a thoufand horse, with two thousand light-armed foot, he returned into Phrygia, and there pillaged the country of Pharnabazus, who durst not stand him in the field, nor yet trust to his garrisons; but carrying with him his jewels and the richest of his treasures, he retreated from place to place, till Spithridates being joined with Herippidas the Spartan, took his camp, and feized all his treafure. Herippidas, by inquiring too feverely into the plunder which the Barbarians had taken, and by forcing them to deliver it up, fo disobliged Spithridates, that he changed fides again, and went off with the Paphlagonians to Sardis. It is faid, that Agesilaus was more fenfibly touched with this than with any thing that happened in the whole course of the expedition, not only because he had lost the friendship of a valiant commander, and with him a confiderable number of men, but because he lay under the reproach of fordid covetousness, of which he always was folicitous to clear both himfelf and his country. Beside these public causes of his concern, he had a private one, which was his love to Megabates. He had always, however, endeavoured with the utmost resolution to suppress it, especially in presence of the boy; so that when Megabates once offered to falute and kifs him, he declined it. The youth being much abashed at the repulse, grew more referved, and from that time faluted him

him at a greater distance; at which Agesilaus was much concerned, and repenting his coyness, he pretended to wonder why he did not falute him with the like familiarity as formerly. His friends about him answered, You, Sir, are in fault, you who durst not the other day stand the kiss of so beautiful a youth, but avoided it as if you had been frighted at him. He might foon be persuaded to come nearer, and accost you as formerly; but take care you do not shun him again. Upon this Agefilaus paufed a while, and at length answered, You need not encourage him to a repetition of that kindness; I had rather be master of myself in the refusal of that kifs, than possess all the gold that my eyes ever beheld. Thus he behaved to Megabates whilst he remained with him; but fo ftrong was his passion for him when he was gone, that I question whether if he had returned, all the virtue he had could have induced him to fuch another refufal.

Some time after this, Pharnabazus fought an opportunity of conferring with Agefilaus, which Apollophanes of Cyzicus, the common hoft of them both, procured for him. Agefilaus coming first to the appointed place with his friends, threw himfelf. down upon the grafs under a tree, where he waited for Pharnabazus, who brought with him foft skins and rich carpets to lie down upon; but when he faw Agefilaus's posture, he was ashamed of them, and laid himself down upon the grafs also, though he was dreffed in a robe of an extremely fine texture and very richly dyed. Pharnabazus had matter enough of complaint against Agefilaus, and therefore, after the mutual civilities were over, he put him in mind of the great fervices he had done the Lacedæmonians in the Attic war, of which he thought it an ill recompense, to have his country thus haraffed and spoiled by those men who had been so obliged to him. The Spartans that were about Agefilaus hung down their heads, as ashamed of the wrong they had done to Pharnabazus. A.a.2. the

the king answered, We, O Pharnabazus, when we were in amity with the king of Persia, behaved like friends; but now when we are at war with him, we behave as enemies. As for you, we look upon you as his fervant; we therefore molest you only that we may burt him. But whenever you will chuse rather to be a friend to the Grecians, than a slave of the king of Persia, you may then reckon this army and navy to be all at your command, to defend both you and your country, together with your liberties, without which there is nothing honourable or desirable among men. Upon this Pharnabazus difcovered his mind, and answered, If the king should fend another governour in my room, I will certainly come over to you; but as long as he trusts me with the government, I shall be just to him, and not fail to use my utmost endeavours to oppose you. Agestlaus was pleased with this answer; and taking hold of his hand and rifing up, he faid, How much do I wish that such a man was my friend rather than my enemy!

Thus ended the conference, and Pharnabazus retired; but his fon flaying behind, ran up to Agefilaus, and faid with a finile, Agefilaus, I from this day am bound with you in the facred ties of hospitality; and then presented him with a javelin which he had in his hand. Agefilaus received it, and being much taken with the good mien and politeness of the youth, looked about to fee if there were any thing in his train fit to offer him in return; and observing the horse of Adæus, his secretary, to have very fine trappings, he took them off, and beflowed them upon the youth. Nor did his kindness rest there, but he was ever after mindful of him; fo that when he was driven out of his country by his brethren, and lived an exile in Peloponnesus, he took great care of his maintenance, and even condescended to affift him in his amours. For he happened to fall in love with a youth of Athens, who had been bred up to his exercises, in order to contend for the prize in the Olympic

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games; but as he was well grown, he had like to have been refused when he offered himself to be entered among the other competitors. The young prince therefore applied to Agefilaus, who undertook the business for him, and with much difficulty fucceeded. He was in all other things a man of exact justice; but when the interest of a friend was concerned, he thought that to be rigorously just was only a colourable pretence for denying him. I here is an epiftle written to Idrieus, the Cavian, which is ascribed to Agesilaus; it is this: If Nicias be innocent, absolve him; if he be guilty, absolve him upon my account; however be fure to absolve him. And indeed this was the true character of Agefilaus, as to his deportment towards his friends. Yet fometimes he confidered the necessity of his own affairs more than his friends, of which he once gave an example. Being obliged to decamp in great hafte and diforder, he was forced to leave his favourite youth behind him; and when he called aloud after him, and implored his help, Agefilaus turning back, faid, What an hard thing is it, to love and to be wife at the fame time? This story is told by Hieronymus the philosopher.

Another year of the war being fpent, Agefilaus's fame still increased, so that his temperance, his candour, and moderation were highly celebrated even in the remoter provinces of Persia. When he took any journey with his private retinue, he ufually lodged in a temple, making the gods witneffes of his most private actions, with which others would fcarce permit men to be acquainted. In fo great an army there was fcarcely a common foldier who lay on a harder bed than Agefilaus; and he was fo inured to the varieties of heat and cold, that both feemed natural to him. I he Greeks that inhabited Asia, were much pleased to see the Persian governours and generals, who from their wealth and luxury were before intolerably proud and info-

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lent, now standing in awe of a man that went about in an old coarse cloak, with wonderful ductility changing their manners and appearance on the least intimation of his will, and suffering all their motions to be guided by his concise laconic orders. It put them in mind of that verse in Timotheus,

To Mars the pow'r belongs, Greece fears not gold.

As many parts of Asia now revolted from the Perfians, Agefilaus fettled the affairs of the feveral cities, and regulated their government, without the death or banishment of one single person. He then refolved to quit the fea-fide, to march further up into the country, to attack the king of Perfia himfel in the midst of his pleasures in his cities of Susa and Echatane, and not to allow him leifure to fit as an idle spectator of the wars of others, hiring by his prefents the feveral states of Greece to destroy each other, and bribing their orators to fecond his pernicious defigns. But in the mean time Epicydidas the Spartan arrived, with news that Sparta was involved in a Grecian war, and with an order from the Ephori for Agefilaus to return home and affift his own country.

## O Greeks, inventors of Barbarian ills!

For what better can we say of that envy and hatted, and those intestine divisions, which destroyed the fortune of Greece, and called her back from her full career of victory over the Barbarians, only to sheath her sword in her own bowels? For I can by no means assent to Demaratus of Corinth, who said, That those Grecians were deprived of a great satisfaction, who did not live to see Alexander sit on the throne of Darius. That sight should rather have drawn tears from them, when they considered, that they had left that glory to Alexander and the Macedonians, whilst they destroyed all their own great commanders

in the fields of Leuctra, Coronea, Corinth, and Arcadia.

No part of Agefilaus's conduct was greater than his behaviour on this occasion; nor can a nobler instance be found in history, of a ready obedience, and just deference to his country. Hannibal, though unfuccessful and almost driven out of Italy, yet could ly be prevailed on to return when his country was involved in a war at home. And Alexander made a jest of the battle between Agis and Antipater, faying to his friends, Whilft we are conquering Darius in Asia, it seems there is a battle of mice in Arcadia. How happy then was Sparta in the obedience and respect: which Agefilaus showed to the laws of his country? For immediately upon receiving his orders, though in the midst of his good fortune, and in full hope of great and glorious fuccess, he left his work unfinished, and instantly departed, leaving his friends in Asia very forrowful for the loss of him, and having abundantly confuted the faying of Demaratus the Phocian, That the Lacedamonians excelled in their public transactions, but that the Athenians were better observers of private friendship. For as he approved himself an excellent king and general, he showed himself still more to be a desirable friend, and agreeable companion.

The coin of Persia was stamped on one side with the sigure of an archer; which made Agesilaus say, That ten thousand Persian archers had driven him out of Asia; that sum having been laid out in bribing the orators in Thebes and Athens, whereby those two republics were incited to make war with Sparta.

Having croffed the Hellespont, he marched without asking leave of any of the Barbarians; he only sent messengers through Thrace to them, to demand whether they would have him pass through their country as a friend or as an enemy. All the rest received him as a friend, and used him with the greatest civility; but the Trallians (of whom Xerxes is said

to have bought his paffage) demanded of him a hundred talents of filver, and a hundred of his wo-Agefilaus in reply only asked the messengers ironically, Why their masters were not come with them to receive it? In the mean time he marched on, and finding them drawn up to oppose him, he attacked them, put them to flight, and flew great numbers of them. He fent the like embaffy to the king of Macedonia, who replied, He would take time to de-Why then let him deliberate, faid Agefilaus, we will go forward in the mean time. The Macedonian being furprifed and daunted at the refolution of the Spartan king, defired him to pass through his country as a friend. When he came into Theffaly, he laid waste the country, because the Theffalians were in league with the enemy. He fent Xenocles and Scytha to Lariffa, to perfuade the inhabitants to join with the Spartans; but the Larissæans seized and imprisoned them; and when the army was enraged, and advifed him to befiege the town; he answered; That he valued either of those men at more than the whole country of Theffaly. He therefore made terms with them, and received his men again upon composition. Nor need we wonder at that faying of Agefilaus; for when fome time before news was brought him that a great battle had been fought near Corinth, wherein many brave men fell, but that the loss of the enemy was infinitely greater than that of the Spartans, he appeared not in the least pleased or elated with the victory, but with a deep figh cried out, O Greece, how many gallant men hast thou with thy own hands destroyed, who, if they had been preserved, might have conquered all the Barbarians! Yet when the Pharfalians haraffed his army, and incommoded his paffage, he drew out five hundred horse, and in person fought and routed them, and set up a trophy at Mount Narthacium. He valued himfelf much upon that victory, because, with so small

a number of his own training, he had vanquished an army of men, who thought themselves the best horsemen in Greece.

Here Diphridas, one of the Ephori, met him, and ordered him immediately to make an inroad mto Bœotia. Though he thought it would have been better to have delayed this, and to have done it with a greater force, yet he obeyed the magiftrates, and told his foldiers, that the day was come when they were to enter upon that employment, on the account of which they were brought out of Asia. He then fent for two cohorts of the army near Corinth to his affistance; and the Lacedæmonians at home, in honour to him, made proclamation for volunteers that would ferve under the king, to come in and be lifted. Finding that all the inhabitants readily offered themselves, the magistrates chose fifty of the ablest, and sent them.

Agefilaus having paffed Thermopylæ, marched through Phocis, which was in friendship with Sparta, entered Bœotia, and encamped near Chæronea. Just at that time there happened an eclipse of the fun, and news was likewise brought that Pifander had been defeated by Pharnabazus and Conon, in a fea-engagement near Cnidos, and that he himself was flain. He was much grieved at this both on account of his own loss, and that of Yet left his army, being now near enthe public. gaging, should be discouraged at the news, he ordered the meffengers to give out that Pifander had obtained the victory; and he himself appeared in public with a garland on his head, and returned thanks for the fuccess in a solemn facrifice, of which he fent portions to his friends.

When he came near to Coronea, and was within view of the enemy, he drew up his army, and giving the left wing to the Orchomenians, he himfelf led the right. The Thebans drew up their army likewife, forming the right wing themselves,

and affigning the left to the Argives. Xenophon, who was present at this battle, fighting near Agesilaus, with whom he returned out of Asia, tells us, that it was the sharpest engagement that had hap-

pened in his time.

The first charge was neither violent nor lasting; for the Thebans foon routed the Orchomenians. as Agefilaus did the Argives. But both parties being informed of the condition their left wings were in, turned about instantly to relieve them. Here Agefilaus might have been fure of his victory without any risk, if he would have suffered the Thebans to pass, and so have charged them in the rear; but fuch was his eagerness and fury, that he would not wait for the opportunity, but attacked them in front, thinking to bear them down before The Thebans were not behind him in courage, so that the battle grew very warm on both fides, especially near Agefilaus's person, whose new guard of fifty volunteers flood him in great flead that day, and faved his life. They fought with great valour, and exposed themselves to the utmost danger in his defence; they could not however prevent him from receiving many wounds through his armour with lances and fwords. At last making a ring about him, they with great difficulty brought him off alive, after having killed many of the enemy, and lost many of their own number. At length finding it too hard a task to break the front of the Theban army, they were obliged to have recourse to an artifice, which in the beginning they fcorned; for now they opened their ranks, and fuffered the Thebans to pass through; and observing that they marched in a diforderly manner, they turned upon them, and attacked them in flank and rear. They could not however totally rout the Thebans, who marched on to Helicon, boafting, that their part of the army was yet unconquered. Agefilaus, though much weakened by the many

wounds

wounds he had received, would not retire to his tent, till he had been first carried about the field. and had feen the dead men of his army carried off in their armour. Being told that feveral of the enemy had taken fanctuary in the temple of Minerva the Itonian, which stood hard by, he ordered them to be dismissed in safety. Before this temple stood a trophy erected by the Bœotians, for a victory formerly obtained by them over the Athenians under the conduct of Sparton, wherein Tolmidas the Athenian general was flain.

Next morning early Agefilaus, being willing to try whether the Thebans would renew the engagement, commanded his foldiers to put garlands on their heads, and the muficians to play on their flutes, whilst he erected a trophy as conqueror. But when, instead of fighting, the enemy asked leave to bury their dead, he gave it them, and fo confirmed to himself the victory. After this he went to Delphi, to the Pythian games which were then celebrating, at which feaft he affifted, and there folemnly offered to the gods an hundred talents, which was the tenth part of the spoils he had brought from Afia.

When he returned to Sparta, he was greatly beloved and admired by the citizens for his temperance and frugality in his diet and manner of living. For, contrary to the custom of other generals, he came home the fame man that he went out, not having learned to admire the fashions of other countries, and to flight and reject those of his own. He paid as much respect to the Spartan customs as if he had never passed over the Eurotas; he made no alteration in the manner of his supping or bathing, in his wife's apparel, in his household furniture, in his armour, nor even in the doors of his house, which were so old, that they might well be thought to be the fame with those that had so long ago been fet up by Aristodemus. And Xenophon affures

affures us that his daughter's chariot (called the Canathrum) was no richer than that of others. This Canathrum was a vehicle made of wood, in the shape of a griffin, or some other animal of a strange uncommon figure, in which the young virgins were carried in the processions. Xenophon has not left us the name of this daughter of Age. filaus; and Dicæarchus is much displeased that we know not the names either of the daughter of Agefilaus, or of Epaminondas's mother. But in the ancient inscriptions which may be seen at Sparta, it appears that Agefilaus's wife was called Cleora, and that he had two daughters whose names were Apolia and Prolyta. The Spartans likewife to this day show his spear, which is in nothing different from that of other men.

Observing that many of his citizens valued themfelves upon breeding horses for the chariot-races in the Olympic games, he persuaded his sister Cynisca to place herself in a chariot, and to contend for the prize, being desirous to convince the Grecians that these victories were not obtained by strength or

courage, but by wealth and expense.

He had near his person the wise Xenophon, whom he highly esteemed and respected. He persuaded him to fend for his children to Sparta, there to be brought up, and to be taught the most valuable of all sciences, how to command, and how

to obey.

Lyfander being dead, and his faction yet great and prevalent, which upon his return from Afia he had raifed against Agesilaus, the king thought it advisable to show publicly what fort of a citizen he had been whilst he lived. And finding an oration among his writings, that was composed by Cleon the Halicarnassean, and intended to be spoken by Lyfander in a public assembly, to excite the people to make innovations in the government, he resolved to publish it. But one of the senators having the perusal

perusal of it, and finding it strongly written, advised him not to dig up Lysander again, but rather to bury that oration in the grave with him. This advice he hearkened to, and suppressed the oration. As for his enemies, he used no open means to suppress them, but on the contrary made use of all his interest to obtain for them either the command of the armies, or fome other confiderable post in the government. This gave them an opportunity of manifesting their avarice and dishonesty; and if at any time they were called to account for their ill practices, he folicited for them, and patronized them, by which he brought them over to his interest, and of avowed enemies made them his firm friends; fo that in a short time there was not one left to oppose his measures. For as to Agesipolis the other king, he was the fon of an exiled father, was very young, modest, inactive, and concerned himself but little with public affairs. Agefilaus contrived to make him yet more tractable According to the custom of Sparta, the kings if they were in town always dined together. Agefilaus knowing that Agefipolis was not less disposed to love than himfelf, continually turned the difcourfe upon some of the most amiable youths in the city, and at last brought him to fix his affection on a favourite of his own, and was both his companion and affiftant in his love. For this love among the Spartans had nothing in it that was shameful or vitious, but was always accompanied with virtue and honour, and a noble emulation of rendering those they loved still more amiable and virtuous, as we have already observed in the life of Lycur-School invested once to some terms of relies and

Having thus increased and established his power, he easily obtained that his half-brother Teleutias might be chosen admiral; after which he marched with his land-forces against Corinth, where he made himself master of the long walls, whilst his

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brother befieged it by fea. The Argives were then in possession of Corinth, and were in the midst of their Isthmian games, when he came upon them, and made them retire from their facrifices, and leave all their festival preparations behind them. iled Corinthians who were in the Spartan army defired him to proceed in the folemnity, and to prefide at it himself. This he refused, but gave them leave to celebrate it, and he in the mean time staid and guarded them. When Agefilaus retired, the Argives returned to their sports again. Some who were victors before, conquered a fecond time, and others loft the prizes which before they had gained, But Agefilaus feverely reproached the Argives for cowardice, who having fo great a veneration for the Isthmian games, and so much valuing themfelves upon the victories there obtained, yet durft not fight in defence of them. He himself was of opinion, that a moderate degree of regard for fuch things was best. Accordingly when he was at Sparta, he affifted with great zeal and affiduity at the public games and festivals. Nor would he ever be absent from any of the exercises of the young men and the girls. But for those other amusements, in which he saw most men so deeply engaged, he affected even to be a stranger to them. Callipides the tragic actor, who was very eminent through all Greece, one day met Agefilaus and faluted him; he then confidently thrust himself, into his train, expecting that the king would take fome notice of him, and pay him fome compliment. At laft he asked the king, Whether he knew him or not? What, replied he, art thou Callipides the stage-player? Being invited once to hear a man who admirably imitated the nightingale, he refused, faying, That be had heard the nightingale herfelf. There was one Menecrates a physician, who having been famed for furprising fuccess in the cure of some desperate diseases, was called Jupiter: he was so vain as to accept

accept the title, and having occasion to write a letter to Agesilaus, directed it thus; Menecrates Jupiter to Agesilaus, greeting. The king returned answer, Agesilaus to Menecrates, health, and a right mind.

Whilst Agefilaus was in the Corinthian territories, where he had taken the temple of Juno, he one day flood to observe his soldiers seizing the flaves as they came out of the temple, and carrying off the plunder, when some Theban ambassadors came to him to treat of peace. He having ever had a great aversion for their city, and thinking it then advantageous to his affairs publicly to flight them, pretended not to fee them, nor to hear them speak. But heaven immediately revenged this infult; for before they parted from him, he received news that a body of his troops was defeated by Iphicrates... This was the greatest loss that the Spartans had fuffered for a long time; for a great number of brave men were killed, and what added to the difgrace was, that heavy-armed Lacedæmonians were: defeated by light-armed mercenaries. Agefilaus made all the hafte he could to their rescue, but came too late. He therefore returned to Juno's temple, and fent for the Theban ambaffadors to give them audience. They now refolved to return the affront he had offered them, and without mat king any mention of the peace, only defired leave to go into Corinth. Agefilaus being enraged at this, answered, That if they were destrous to go and fee how proud their friends were of their success, they should do it to-morrow with safety. Next morning taking the ambaffadors with him, he ravaged the Corin-t thian territories, up to the very gates of the city; where having let the ambaffadors fee that the Corinthians durst not come out to defend themselves. he difmissed them; then taking with him all those who had escaped after the defeat, he marched homewards, always removing his camp before day, and pitching his tents after night came on, that he B b. 2 might.

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might prevent the Arcadians, who hated the Spartans, from taking any opportunity of infulting over their loss.

After this, at the request of the Achæans, he marched with them into Acarnania, from whence he brought a great quantity of plunder, and overcame the Acarnanians in battle. The Achæans would have persuaded him to keep his winter-quarters there, to hinder the Acarnanians from sowing their corn; but he was of the contrary opinion, alleging that they would be more afraid of a war the next summer, if their fields were sown, than they would be if they lay fallow. The event justified his opinion; for the next year, when the Achæans began their expedition again, the Acarnanians imme-

diately made peace with them.

When Conon and Pharnabazus with the Persian navy were become masters of the sea, and had not only infested the coast of Laconia, but also rebuilt the walls of Athens, at the cost of Pharnabazus, the Lacedemonians thought fit to treat of peace with the king of Persia. To that end they fent Antalcidas to Teribazus, basely betraying the Asiatic Greeks, on whose behalf Agesilaus had made war. But no part of this dishonour fell upon Agesilaus, the whole being transacted by Antalcidas, who was a bitter enemy of Agefilaus, and was therefore defirous to conclude a peace, because he knew that war increased Agefilaus's reputation and authority. But, notwithstanding this, when a certain person said, That the Lacedammians were turning Medes, Agefilaus replied, No, the Medes are turning Lacedamonians. And when the Grecians were backward to the agreement, he threatened them with war, unless they confented to the king of Persia's terms. Agefilaus had a particular end in this, which was to weaken the I hebans; for it was one of the articles of peace, that the country of Bœotia should silon is transmit of the first of the control guest.

be fet at liberty, which was then under the dominion of Thebes.

This hatred of his to Thebes appeared further afterwards, when Phœbidas in time of peace very dishonourably seized upon the castle of Cadmea. This very much incenfed all the Grecians, and was disapproved even by the Lacedæmonians themfelves; those especially who were enemies to Agefilaus, highly refented it, and asked Phœbidas by whose authority it was done, turning the fuspicion of it against Agesilaus, who resolutely answered on the behalf of Phœbidas, That the profitableness of an action was chiefly to be considered; that what was for the advantage of the commonwealth ought to be done whether there were any orders given for it or not. This was the more remarkable in him, because in his converfation he always recommended justice as the chief of the virtues, faying, That valour without justice was useless; and if all min were just, there would be no need of valour. When any said to him, The great king will have it so; he would reply, How is he greater than I, unless he be juster? Thus he represented justice as that royal measure by which true greatness is to be estimated. The peace being concluded, the king of Persia wrote to Agesilaus, desiring a private friendship with him; but he refused it, saying, That the public friendship was enough; whilst that lasted, there was no need of private. But he did not always act agreeably to these sentiments, being frequently hurried away by ambition or refentment, Particularly, in this case of the Thebans, he not only faved Phæbidas, but perfuaded the Lacedæmonians to take the fault upon themselves, to keep possession of Cadmea, and to make Archias and Leontidas, by whom the castle had been betrayed, chief governours in Thebes. This gave strong fufpicion, that what Phæbidas did was by Agefilaus's order, which was afterwards made evident by the consequences. For when the Athenians had ex-B b 3 pelled pelled the garrison, and had set the Thebans at liberty, he accused them of the murder of Archias and Leontidas, (whom he called Polemarchs, though in reality they were tyrants), and declared war against them on that account. Cleombrotus the other king, fuccessor of Agesipolis lately deceased, was fent at the head of an army into Bœotia; Agefilaus excufing himfelf on account of his age, for it was, forty years fince he had first borne arms, and the laws confequently exempted him from any further fervice. But there was another reason, which made him decline the command. He thought it would. be a shame for him, who had not long before made war upon the Phliafians in favour of exiles, to march now against the Thebans in behalf of tyrants.

One Sphodrias of Lacedmon, who was of the faction opposite to Agesilaus, was at that time governour of Thespiæ, a man not void of courage or ambition, but full of vain hopes and of little judgment. This action of Phæbidas fired him to attempt some great enterprise, which might render him as famous as he perceived the taking of Cadmea had made Phæbidas. He thought the taking of the Piræus, and cutting off the Athenians from the fea, a matter of far more glory. It is faid, that Pelopidas and Melon the governours of Bœotia put him upon it. They privately fent some men to him, who pretended to be in the Spartan interest. These men highly commended Sphodrias, and extolled him as the only man in the world fit for fo great an enterprise. Being thus encouraged and elated by their praises, he engaged in an undertaking as dishonourable and treacherous as that at Cadmea, but conducted with less valour and attended with lefs fuccefs. For the day broke whilft he was yet in the plains of Thriasium; whereas he defigned that the whole exploit should have been done in the night. As foon as the foldiers perceived the rays of light reflected from the temples of Eleusis upon the first rising of the sun, it is said, that their hearts failed them; nay, he himself, when he faw that he could not have the benefit of the night, had not courage enough to go on with his. enterprise; but, having spent a little time in pillaging the country, he returned with shame to Thespiæ. An embassy was upon this sent from Athens to Sparta, to complain of this breach of the peace; but the ambaffadors found their journey needlefs, Sphodrias being then under a capital profecution from the magistrates of Sparta. Sphodrias durst not abide the iffue of the trial, through fear of the refentment of the citizens, who were ashamed of the transaction, and were desirous to appear to have been wronged themselves, that the Athenians might not fuspect; them of having been accessory to the

injury which had been offered to them.

This Sphodrias had a fon named Cleonymus, who was young and handsome, and who was beloved by Archidamus the fon of Agefilaus. It may eafily be imagined that Archidamus sympathised with his. friend in the great trouble and anxiety he felt on his father's account; but yet he durst not publicly give Sphodrias any affiftance, as he was one of the professed enemies of Agesilaus. At last Cleonymus went to him, and importuned him with tears to prevail with the king to deal favourably with his father, for he of all the profecutors was the most formidable. Archidamus had not the courage to fpeak to his father for three or four days together, but followed him up and down in a profound filence. At last when the time approached for pronouncing the fentence, he adventured to tell him. that Cleonymus had entreated him to intercede for Sphodrias. Agefilaus, though he knew of the love between the two young men, yet did not prohibit it, because he looked upon Cleonymus as a youth of extraordinary merit, and of great hopes. He

did not however by his answer give his for any ground to expect that he would be favourable to Sphodrias; he only told him, That he would consider what he could honourably do in the affair, and fo difmiffed him. Archidamus being ashamed of his want of fuccess, avoided the company of Cleonymus for some time, though he used to see him several times in a day. This made the friends of Sphodrias think his cafe desperate, till Etymocles one of Agefilaus's friends discovered to them the king's mind, and told them, That he abhorred the fact, but yet be thought Sphodrias a brave man, fuch as the commonwealth much wanted at that time. Agefilaus used every where to talk thus concerning the cause, being willing to gratify his fon; upon which Cleonymus quickly understood that Archidamus had been just to him, in using all his interest with his father; and Sphodrias's friends took courage, and exerted themselves in his defence. Agesilaus was indeed very fond of his children; and it is reported, that when they were little, he would make a hobbyhorse of a reed, and ride with them. Being one day furprifed at this fport by a friend, he defired him to fay nothing of it, till he himself should have children.

When the Athenians heard that Sphodrias was acquitted, they immediately took arms; and Age-filaus fell into great difgrace with the people, for having, in order to gratify the foolish inclinations of a boy, perverted justice, and made the city acceffory to that scandalous outrage which had been committed against the Greeks. Finding Cleombrotus little inclined to the Theban war, it became necessary for him to quit the privilege of his age, which he had before claimed, and to lead the army himself; which he did with variety of success, sometimes conquering, and sometimes being conquered; so that one day when he had received a wound in battle, he was reproached by Antalcidas,

requital, for teaching them to fight, which they neither liked nor understood before. And indeed they were now grown far better soldiers than ever they had been, as they were now inured to war by the frequent expeditions of the Lacedæmonians against them. For this reason their ancient legislator Lycurgus, in one of the three decrees called Rhetræ, forbade them to make war often against the same enemies, lest they should instruct them in the mili-

tary art.

The allies of Sparta were not a little discontented at Agefilaus, because this war was commenced not. upon any public offence committed by the Thebans, but merely out of his private hatred to them; and they complained of it as highly unreasonable, that they being the majority of the army, should from year to year be thus exposed to danger and hardship, marching from place to place at the will of a few. Agefilaus, it is faid, devifed this expedient, to show that the allies were not the greater number. He gave orders, that all the allies, of whatever country, should fit down promiscuously on one fide, and all the Lacedæmonians on the other: which being done, he commanded an herald to proclaim that all the potters should stand up; then all the blacksmiths; then all the masons; next the carpenters; and fo he went through all the different trades. Thus almost all the allies rose up, and not one of the Lacedæmonians, they being by law forbidden to learn any mechanical trade. Then Agefilaus faid laughing, You fee, my friends, that our number of soldiers is much greater than yours.

When he brought back his army from Bœotia through Megara, as he was going up to the townhall in the castle, he was suddenly seized with a convulsion and acute pain in his sound leg; after which a tumour arose, the vessels seemed distended with blood, and there appeared all the signs of a

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violent inflammation. He was attended by a Syraeufan physician, who let him blood below the anele: this foon eased his pain; but it was with great difficulty that the bleeding was stopped, and not till it had brought upon him a fainting sit, and reduced him so low that his life was in great danger. He was carried home to Sparta in a very weak condition, and did not recover strength enough to appear in the field a long time after.

In the mean time, the Spartans received many losses both by sea and land; but the greatest was that at Leuctra, which was the first time that they were overthrown by the Thebans in a pitched bat-

tle. The occasion of it was this.

The Grecians being all disposed to a general peace, fent ambassadors to Sparta to negotiate it. Among these was Epaminondas the Theban, famous at that time for his wisdom and learning; but he had not yet given proof of his martial virtues. He feeing all the others standing in awe of Agesilaus, and making court to him, alone maintained his dignity, and fpoke with freedom in behalf not of Thebes only, but of all Greece, remonstrating, that war was advantageous only to the Spartans, and that it was destructive to the rest of the Grecians. He advised therefore, that peace might be made upon equal terms, fince it could not be rendered lafting but by reducing all to a parity. Agefilaus perceiving all the other Greeks to hearken attentively to this discourse, and to be pleased with it, asked him whether he did not think it just and reasonable that the Bæotians should be permitted to live in a state of freedom and independence? Epaminondas with great boldness and vivacity returned the question, and asked Agesilaus, if he did not think it just and reasonable, that Laconia should be restored to the same state of freedom and independence? Agefilaus being enraged at this reply, started up, and pressed him to declare peremptorily, if he would agree to an immunity for Bæotia?

Bæstia? And Epaminondas returned the same question again, and asked, if an immunity would be granted on his part to Laconia? Agesilaus was so provoked at this, that he gladly laid hold of this pretext to exclude the Thebans from the league, and to declare war against them. With the rest of the Greeks he made a treaty, and dismissed them, saying, That what could be peaceably adjusted, should; what was otherwise incurable must be determined by war, it being a thing of too great difficulty to provide for all

things by treaty.

The Ephori immediately fent orders to Cleombrotus, who was at that time in Phocis, to march directly into Bœotia, and at the fame time fent to their allies for help. The confederates were very averse to the war, and marched with great reluctance; but as yet they feared the Spartans, and durst not refuse, And though many unfavourable omens and prodigies appeared, as I have mentioned in the life of Epaminondas, and though Prothous the Lacedæmonian opposed this expedition, yet Agefilaus could not be prevailed upon to defift, fo that the war was decreed. He thought the present juncture of affairs very advantageous for his revenge, the rest of Greece being wholly free, and in league with Sparta, and the Thebans only exempted. But that this war was undertaken more from paffion than judgment, appears from the shortness of the time. For the treaty was finished on the fourteenth of Scirophorion [June], and the Lacedæmonians received their great overthrow at Leuctra the fifth of Hecatombæon [July], twentyone days after. There fell at that time a thoufand Spartans, and Cleombrotus their king, together with many others of the bravest men of the city; particularly Cleonymus, the fon of Sphodrias, that beautiful youth, was thrice struck down at the feet of the king, and as often rofe, but was flain at laft.

This unexpected blow, which fell fo heavy upon the Lacedæmonians, brought greater glory to Thebes, than ever was acquired by any other of the Grecian states in their wars against each other. The behaviour of the Spartans though conquered, was, however, as much applauded and admired as that of the victorious Thebans. And indeed, if, as Xenophon fays, good men even in their gayest conversations, and in their wine, let fall many remarkable fayings that are worth preferving; how much more worthy to be recorded, is an exemplary constancy of mind, appearing both in the countenance and behaviour of brave men, when they are pressed by adverse fortune? It happened, that the Spartans were celebrating a festival, and the town was full of ftrangers who came from other countries to fee the exercises of the youths and virgins who wrestled naked in the theatre, when this news of the overthrow was brought. The Ephori, though they were fufficiently aware that this blow had quite ruined the Spartan grandeur, and its authority over the rest of Greece, yet gave orders that the sports should not break off, nor any of the ceremonies of the festival be omitted; but privately fending the names of the flain to each family out of which they were loft, they continued the public folemnity. The next morning, when they had full intelligence concerning it, and every body knew who were flain, and who furvived, the fathers and relations of the flain came out rejoicing into the marketplace, and faluted each other with a kind of exultation. On the contrary, the relations of the furvivors hid themselves at home among the women; if necessity drove any of them abroad, they went very dejectedly, with downcast looks and forrowful countenances. The women even outdid the men; fuch whose sons were flain, went immediately to the temples to return thanks to the gods, and visited each other with great cheerfulness and mutual congratulations; but they who expected their

children home, were filent and dejected.

The common people finding themselves deserted by their allies, and being terrified with the news of Epaminondas's defign of invading Peloponnefus, called to mind that oracle which related to Agesilaus's lameness, and were deeply discouraged, and afraid of the anger of the gods, thinking that the misfortunes of the city were occasioned by their having placed a lame king upon the throne, and excluded one whose limbs were found and perfect; for this, they imagined, the gods had directed them above all things to avoid. Yet fuch was their regard to the virtue, authority, and reputation of Agefilaus, that they threw themselves upon him in this diffress, as the only man who was fit to heal the public malady, and not only employed him as their general in war, but referred every difficulty in the civil government to his decision. One great difficulty was then before them, concerning those who had fled out of the battle; for they being many and powerful, it was feared that they might make fome commotion in the republic, to avoid the penalties inflicted on them by the laws for their cowardice. The law in that case was very severe: for they were not only to be degraded from all honours, but also it was a difgrace to intermarry with them; whoever met any of them in the streets, might beat them if he pleafed, nor was it lawful for them to refift; they were obliged to appear publicly in a mean tattered habit, patched of divers colours, and to wear their beards half shaved, and half unshaved. To execute so rigid a law as this, when the offenders were fo many, and had fuch great interest and authority, and that at a time when the commonwealth wanted foldiers fo much as then it did, was of dangerous consequence. Therefore they chose Agesilaus legislator, with full power of abrogating old laws, or making new ones as

as he pleased. But he without making any addition, diminution, or change, came into the public assembly, and said, The law for this day shall lie dormant, but shall be executed in its full vigour for the future. By this means he at once preserved the law from abrogation, and the citizens from infamy. And that he might remove the despondency and consternation which had seized the young men, he made an inroad into Arcadia, where he carefully avoided coming to an engagement, and contented himself with ravaging the territory, and taking a small town belonging to the Mantineans; thereby reviving the hearts of the people, and letting them see that they were not every where unsuccessful.

Soon after this, Epaminondas and the Theban allies invaded Laconia with an army of forty thoufand foldiers, beside light-armed men and others that followed the camp only for plunder, fo that in all they were feventy thousand. It was now fix hundred years fince the Dorians had poffeffed Laconia; and in all that time an enemy had not been feen within their territories, no man daring to invade them. But now they made their incursions without refistance as far as the Eurotas, and the very fuburbs of Sparta; for Agefilaus, as Theopompus writes, would not permit the Spartans to oppose so impetuous a torrent. He contented himfelf with fortifying the chief parts of the city, and placing guards in the most important posts, enduring in the meantime the threats and defiances of the Thebans, who called upon him by name to come and defend his country, which fuffered these miseries upon his account, as he was the fole author of the war. Beside this he was greatly disturbed at home by tumults in the city, by the outcries and cabals of the old men, who were highly enraged at their present condition, and by the wild behaviour of the women, who were terrified even

to madness by the clamours and the fires of the enemy in the field. And what further diffressed him was the fense of his lost glory; for he who came to the crown of Sparta when it was in its most flourishing condition and highest grandeur, now lived to fee its pride humbled, and all its magnificent boafts confuted, even that which he himfelf had been accustomed to utter, That the women of Sparta had never feen the smoke of the enemy's fire. It is faid, that when Antalcidas was once disputing with an Athenian about the valour of the two nations, the Athenian faid, That they had often driven the Spartans from the river Cephifus: Yes, faid Antalcidas, but we never drove you from the Eurotas. One of the common people of Sparta being in company with an Argive, who was boafting how many Spartans lay buried in the fields of Argos, replied, But you have none buried in the country of Laconia. Some fay that Antalcidas, who was one of the Ephori, was fo terrified on this occasion that he fent away his children privately to the island of Cythera.

When the enemy attempted to pass the river in order to attack the town, Agefilaus betook himfelf to the highest part of it which was in the middle, and there he drew up his army. It happened at that time that the Eurotas was swelled to a great height, by reason of the snow that had fallen, which made the passage very difficult to the Thebans, not only from the violence of the stream, but much more from the coldness of the water. Epaminondas was the first person that passed at the head of his infantry, and every where appeared the foremost man in the army; some of the Spartans having showed him to Agefilaus, he looked stedfastly at him for a long time, filently following all his motions with his eyes, and at last uttered only this exclamation, What heroic spirit and vigour! Epaminondas was ambitious to come to an engagement in the city, and to erect a trophy there; but

as he could not tempt Agefilaus out of his advantageous post, he was forced to march off again,

wasting the country as he went.

In the meantime a conspiracy broke out in Sparta, where two hundred malecontents, who had for a long time concealed their traitorous purposes, and waited for fuch an opportunity, got into a strong part of the town called Hifferion, where they feized upon the temple of Diana. The Spartans would instantly have fallen upon them; but Agesilaus not knowing how far the fedition might reach, commanded them to forbear; and going himself in his cloak, with but one fervant, when he came near the rebels, he called out to them, and faid, You bave mistaken my orders. My directions were not that you should all go in a body to that station, but that some of you should plant your selves there, and others there; at the fame time pointing out to them different parts of the city. The confpirators gladly heard this difcourfe, thinking themselves not suspected, and readily went off to the places which he showed them. Whereupon Agesilaus immediately ordered some of the troops to possess themselves of that post, and having caused about fifteen of the conspirators to be apprehended, he commanded that they should be put to death the night following.

After this a much more dangerous conspiracy was discovered of a great number of Spartan citizens, who met privately at a certain place, where they consulted how to introduce a change in the government. It was equally dangerous, during the present consuston, to prosecute them publicly, and to connive at them. Agesilaus therefore, by confent of the Ephori, put them to death privately without process; a thing never before known in

Sparta.

At this time also many of the Helots, and other mercenaries, that were listed in the army, ran away to the enemy, which produced a great consternation

every morning before day, to fearch the quarters of the foldiers, and where any man was gone, to hide his arms, that fo the greatness of the number

might not appear.

Historians differ about the cause of the departure of the Thebans from Sparta. Some fay that the winter forced them; and that the Arcadian foldiers difbanding, made it necessary for the rest to retire. Others fay, that they staid there three months, till they had laid waste the whole country. Theopompus fays, that when the governours of Bœotia had given orders to decamp, Phrixus the Spartan came and offered the Thebans ten talents from Agefilaus to purchase their retreat; so that, according to him, when they were retiring of their own accord, they received money from their enemies to defray the expenses of their march. How he alone should come to the knowledge of this particular, I know not. But all authors agree, that Sparta was faved from ruin by Agefilaus, who in this extremity of affairs quitted his two darling passions, ambition and obstinacy, and studied only the security and preservation of the city. He could not, however, after this great overthrow, restore it to its ancient greatness. For as in healthy bodies long used to a strict and regular diet, the least deviation from the prescribed rule is generally fatal; so one errour destroyed the strength and prosperity of this city. And this may be easily accounted for. The constitution of Sparta was excellently framed for promoting peace, virtue, and concord; but when the people began to aim at conquest, and to extend their dominions by force of arms contrary to the intention of Lycurgus, who thought that fuch acquifitions were of no importance to the happinels of a state, the consequence was disgrace and secure of peace when offered him by the I bearing

Agesilaus being now very aged, gave over all C c 3 military

military employments; but his fon Archidamus. having received fome fuccours from Dionysius of Sicily, defeated the Arcadians in an engagement known by the name of the tearless battle, wherein there was a great flaughter of the enemy without the loss of one Spartan. This victory did but too much discover the present weakness of Sparta; for formerly victory was effeemed fo usual a thing with them, that for their greatest successes they only sacrificed a cock to the gods; the foldiers never boafted, nor were the citizens extravagantly joyful ar the news. Nay, when the great victory was obtained at Mantinea, which is described by Thucydides, the meffenger that brought the news had no other reward, than a piece of meat which was fent to him from the public table. But at the news of this Arcadian victory, they were not able to contain themselves; the king went out in procession with. tears of joy in his eyes, and attended by the magiftrates, to meet and embrace his fon. The old men and the women marched out in crouds as far as the river Eurotas, lifting up their hands, and thanking the gods, as if Sparta had that day washed off the stain that so lately stuck upon her, and had just then recovered her ancient splendour. For we are told that till then the married men durst not look their wives in the face, through shame for their late losses.

When Epaminondas was rebuilding Messene, and recalling the ancient inhabitants to repeople it, the Spartans durst not appear in the field to obstruct it; though they were much concerned at it, and were full of resentment against Agesilaus for suffering so large a territory, equal to their own in compass, for fertility the richest of all Greece, and which they had enjoyed so long, to be taken from them in his reign. For this reason he resused to accept of peace when offered him by the Thebans, He could not be brought to make a formal cession of

of that which they had already in possession. But this obstinacy had like to have cost him dear; for he not only failed of recovering that territory, but in the progress of the war was over-reached by a stratagem, which brought Sparta itself into the most imminent danger. For when the Mantineans: had again revolted from the Thebans to the Lacedæmonians, and Epaminondas understood that Agefilaus was marching to their affiftance with a powerful army, he privately in the night quitted his quarters at Tegea, and unknown to the Mantineans, paffing by Agefilaus, marched towards Sparta, which he almost surprised empty and defenceless. Agefilaus being informed of this by Euthynus the Thespian, according to Callisthenes, or by fome Cretan, according to Xenophon, immediately dispatched a messenger on horseback to Sparta to advertise the citizens of it, and he himself arrived foon after. In a little time the Thebans appeared, and having passed the Eurotas, assaulted the town. Agefilaus received them with great courage, and exerted himself much beyond what was to be expected from his years. For he did not now fight with that caution which he formerly made use of, but rather with a desperate boldness, which (though not his usual method) succeeded so well. that he rescued the city out of the hands of Epaminondas, erected a trophy for his victory, and showed even to the women and children how nobly the Lacedæmonians paid the debt which they owed to their country for their education. Archidamus fignally diftinguished himself that day both by his courage and his agility, flying from place to place, presenting himself in all the most dangerous passes, and with a few companions continually repulfing the enemy where they preffed hardest into the town. But the greatest example of valour was given by Isadas, the son of Phœbidas, to the admiration of the enemy as well as of his friends. 23/12

friends. He was tall and beautiful, and just in that bloom of youth which is the boundary betwixt childhood and manhood. He had neither arms nor cloaths to cover him, having just before anointed his body with oil. When the alarm was given, he ran out immediately with a fpear in one hand and a fword in the other, and rushed into the thickest of his enemies, bearing down all before him. He received no wound, whether he were the particular care of fome god, who rewarded his valour with an extraordinary protection, or whether he appeared to the enemy to be fomething more than man. The gallantry of the action was fo efteemed among the Spartans, that the Ephori gave him a garland; but afterwards they fined him a thousand drachmas for going out ea mellengericen an to battle unarmed.

A few days after this there was another battle fought near Mantinea, wherein Epaminondas having routed the van of the Lacedæmonians, being eager in the pursuit of them, Anticrates the Laconian wounded him with a spear, according to Dioscorides, though others say it was with a sword, which is the most probable, for the Spartans to this day call the posterity of Anticrates, Machariones, or swordmen, because he slew Epaminondas with a sword. They so dreaded Epaminondas when living, that Anticrates was beloved and admired by all; nay, they decreed honours and rewards to him, and to his posterity an immunity from all taxes. This privilege Callicrates one of his descendents now enjoys.

Epaminondas being flain, there was a general peace again concluded, from which Agessaus excluded the Messenians as men that had no city, and thefore would not let them swear to the league; to which when the rest of the Greeks admitted them, the Lacedæmonians broke off, and continued the war alone, in hopes of recovering Messenia. For

this

this reason Agesilaus was esteemed a man of a violent obstinate disposition, and insatiably fond of war, who took such pains to hinder the league, and to protract the war at a time when he had not money wherewith to carry it on, but was forced to borrow of the citizens, and to oppress them with heavy taxes; whereas it was high time to ease them of their burdens, and put an end to their calamities, instead of labouring by every method to recover the country of Messenia, after he had lost so great an empire both by sea and land, as the Spartans were possessed of, when he came to the crown.

But he was fill more cenfured for putting himfelf into the service of Tachos the Egyptian. It was thought unworthy of him, who was then looked upon as the greatest man in all Greece, who had filled all countries with his renown, to let out his person and reputation to hire to a Barbarian, an Egyptian rebel, and to fight for pay, as captain only of a band of mercenaries. If when he was above eighty years old, after his body was worn out with age, and enfeebled with wounds, he had engaged in fome very honourable cause, even for the liberty of Greece, it might have been esteemed an unseasonable ambition and worthy of some reproof. For a certain congruity of time and circumstances is necessary to render an action good; nay, it may be faid that a justness of measure and degree alone distinguishes virtue from vice. But Agesilaus was not governed by these considerations; he thought no public employment dishonourable; the ignoblest thing in his efteem was for a man to fit idle at home. till death overtook him. The money therefore that he received from Tachos, he laid out in hiring fome mercenary troops; and having filled his ships, and taken thirty Spartans with him for his council, as formerly he had done in his Afiatic expedition, he fet fail for Egypt. As

As foon as he arrived, all the great officers of the kingdom came to pay their compliments to him. His great reputation had raifed the expectation of the whole country, which flocked to fee him; but when they found, instead of the majesty and splendour which they looked for, a little old man of a contemptible appearance lying down upon the grafs, in a mean garb, they could not refrain from laughter and raillery, crying out, that this was like the fable of the mountain which brought forth a mouse. They were much more furprifed at his abfurdity and ruflicity when the presents usually offered to strangers of distinction were brought to him; for he took only the meal, the calves, and the geefe, but rejected the fweet-meats, the confections, and perfumes: and when they urged him to accept them, he faid, They might carry them to the Helots. Theophraftus fays that he was highly pleased with the Egyptian papyrus, because on account of its thinness and pliantness it was very proper to make garlands; and when he left Egypt, he defired the king to let him carry some of it home with him.

When he joined with Tachos, he found his expectation of being general frustrated; Tachos referved that place for himself, making Agefilaus only captain of the mercenaries, and Chabrias the Athenian admiral. This was the first occasion of his discontent; but there followed others; and he was obliged for a confiderable time to bear with the infolence and vanity of this Egyptian. At length he was forced to attend on him into Phœnicia, in a condition much below his fpirit and dignity. However he submitted to it for a while, till he had an opportunity of showing his refentment. It was foon afforded him by Nectanabis, Tachos's own coufin, and a commander under him, who revolted from his uncle, and was proclaimed king by the Egyptians. This man invited Agefilaus and Chabrias to his party, offering great rewards to both. Tachos.

chos being advertised of it, had recourse to perfuafions, prayers, and entreaties. Chabrias was prevailed upon, and endeavoured by remonstrances to reconcile Agefilaus to Tachos, and keep him firm to his interest. But he replied, You, O Chabrias, came bither a volunteer, and may go or stay as you please; but I am the servant of Sparta, appointed to head the Egyptians, and therefore I cannot fight against those to whom I was fent as a friend, unless I am commanded to do fo by my country. At the same time he dispatched messengers to Sparta, by whom he accused Tachos to the fenate, and justified Nectanabis. The two Egyptians also sent ambassadors to Lacedæmon, to folicit the favour of the Spartans, the one as being their old friend and confederate, and the other as a person already well affected towards them, and whom a fense of gratitude would absolutely devote to their fervice. The Spartans having heard both fides, fent this public answer, That they referred the whole matter to Agefilaus, and wrote privately to him, to act as he should find it best for the interest of the commonwealth. Upon receipt of his orders, he foon changed fides, and carried all the mercenaries with him to Nectabanis, covering this fcandalous and unworthy conduct with the plaufible pretence of acting for the benefit of his country; whereas, that veil being taken off, the fact deserves no better name than treachery. But the Lacedæmonians, who make it the first principle of virtue to serve their country, know not any thing to be just or unjust by any measure but that.

Tachos being thus deserted by the mercenaries fled; but, at the same time, another prince of the city of Mendes, put in his claim, and being declared king by his party, marched at the head of a hundred thousand men against Nectanabis. Nectanabis in his discourse with Agesilaus despised them as men who, though many in number, were artisans and tradesmen, and strangers to martial discipline.

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To whom Agefilaus answered, That he despised their numbers, but was afraid of their ignorance, which gave no room for deceiving them by art and stratagem; for those are to be used only upon cunning and crafty men, who being suspicious of the enemies designs, and forming others to countermine them, often fall into the mare unadvifedly; but he who neither suspects nor fears any thing, gives no more opportunity to the enemy, than he who flands fill gives to a wreftler. This Mendefian was not wanting in his folicitations to Agefilaus, fo that Nectanabis grew fulpicious. But when Agefilaus advised him to fight the enemy immediately, and not to protract the war with fuch men, who, though rude and ignorant, would fo increase in numbers, as wholly to encompass them, and prevent their defigns; this confirmed him in his jealoufy, and made him take the quite contrary course, and retreat into a city fortified with large and ftrong Agefilaus finding himfelf mistrusted, was very much incensed; yet being ashamed to change fides again, or to return home without performing any thing, he was forced to follow Nectanabis, and thut himself up with him in the town.

When the enemy came up, and began to draw an entrenchment about the town, the Egyptian fearing the event of a fiege, was resolving upon a battle; the Greeks were also of the same opinion, the provisions growing already scarce in the place. When Agesilaus opposed it, the Egyptians suspected him more than ever, and publicly called him a traitor. But Agesilaus heard all these reproaches patiently, and pursued the design which he had laid

to over-reach the enemy. It was this.

The enemy had drawn a deep ditch about the wall, resolving to shut up the king entirely. When the ditch was brought almost quite round, and the two ends were nearly joined together, Agesilaus waiting for the advantage of the night, ordered all his Greeks to arm: then going to the king, he

faid,

which

faid, This, young man, is your opportunity of faving yourfelf, which I durft not all this while discover, left the discovery should prevent it; but now the enemy have by their own labour provided for our security. As much of this ditch as is finished will prevent them from surrounding us with their multitude, the gap yet left will be Sufficient for us to fally out by: now follow us, and by fighting valiantly fave yourfelf and your army; their front will not be able to stand against us, and the ditch will secure us from the rest. Nectanabis admiring the wisdom of Agesilaus, immediately placed himself in the Grecian army, and attacked the enemy who were very eafily defeated. Agefilaus having now gotten credit with the king, employed again a stratagem of the same kind against the enemy. He fometimes pretended a retreat, and fometimes turned about and faced them; by which means he at last drew their whole army into a place inclosed between two ditches that were very deep and full of water. When he had them at this advantage, he foon charged them, drawing up the front of his battle equal to the space between the two ditches, fo that they had no way of furrounding him, being inclofed themselves on both fides. They made but little resistance; many fell, the rest sled and were difperfed.

Nectanabis being thus fettled in his kingdom, with great kindness and earnestness invited Agesilaus to fpend his winter in Egypt: but he made hafte home to affift in the wars of his own country, whose treasury he knew to be empty, though the Spartans were forced to hire mercenaries. The king difmiffed him very honourably, and among other gifts presented the city of Sparta with two hundred and thirty talents of filver, towards the charge of the war. But the winter-feafon coming on, Agefilaus was driven by a ftorm upon a defert shore in Africa, called the haven of Menelaus, where he expired, being then eighty-four years old, of

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which he had reigned forty-one in Lacedæmon. The first thirty years of his reign he passed in great splendour, being esteemed the most powerful prince of all Greece, and considered in it as king and commander in chief, till the battle of Leuctra. It was the custom of the Spartans to bury persons of ordinary rank in the place where they died, whatsoever country it was, but their kings they embalmed and carried home. The attendants of Agesilaus not having proper materials to embalm him, for want of honey which they commonly used, wrapped his body in wax, and so conveyed him to Lacedæmon.

His fon Archidamus fucceeded him in his throne, fo did his posterity successively to Agis, the fifth from Agesilaus; who was murdered by Leonidas, for attempting to restore the ancient discipline of

Sparta.

THE

## LIFE

OF

## ALEXANDER the GREAT.

T being my defign in this volume to write the life of Alexander, and of Cæfar by whom Pompey was destroyed, I shall only prentife, (fince the multitude of their great actions affords me fo large a field), that I hope my readers will not be displeafed to find that I have chosen rather to epitomize the most celebrated parts of their history, than to infift at large on every particular circumstance; efpecially confidering that my defign is not to write histories, but lives. Besides, the most glorious exploits do not always furnish us with the clearest difcoveries of virtue, or vice, in men; fometimes a matter of less moment, a fingular expression or a jeft, informs us better of their manners and inclinations, than the most famous sieges, the arrangement of the greatest armies, or the bloodiest bat-Therefore as painters, when they draw a portrait, are more exact in the lines and features of the face, from which we may best discover the peculiar disposition of the mind, than in the other parts of the body; fo let me be allowed to exhibit a picture of the lives of these great men, by chiefly fludying and describing those particulars which most diffinctly characterife their temper and genius, leaving. D d 2

ving their more fplendid actions and achievements

to be treated of by others.

It is univerfally agreed, that on the father's fide Alexander descended from Hercules by Caranus, and from Æacus by Neoptolemus on the mother's fide. His father Philip being in Samothrace when he was young, fell in love there with Olympias, with whom he was initiated in the religious ceremonies of the country; and her father and mother being both dead, he foon after, with the confent of her brother Arymbas, married her. The night before the confummation of the marriage, she dreamed that a thunderbolt fell upon her belly, which kindled a great fire, the flames of which divided themselves on all sides, and then were extinguished. And Philip, some time after he was married, dreamed that he fealed up his wife's belly with a feal, whose impression, as he fancied, was the figure of a lion. Some interpreted this as a warning to Philip to look narrowly to his wife; but Aristander of Telmissus considering it was unufual to feal up any thing that was empty, affured him the meaning of his dream was, that the queen was with child of a boy, who would one day prove as frout and courageous as a lion. Not long after a dragon was observed to lie close by Olympias while she flept; upon which Philip's affection to her fenfibly abated: for whether he feared her as. an inchantress, or thought she had commerce with fome god, and so looked on himself as unequal to. fuch a rival, he was ever after less fond of her company. Others fay, that the women of this country having always been extremely addicted to the enthusiastic ceremonies of Orpheus and Bacchus, (upon which account they were called Clodones and Mimallones), imitated in many things the Edonian and Thracian women about Mount Hamus, from whom the word Thresceuin seems to be derived, which fignifies to perform extravagant and super-Ritious

stitious rites; and that Olympias having a peculiar zeal for these fanatical and enthusiastic inspirations. in order to give the folemnities a more wild and horrid appearance, used to have large tame serpents with her, which sometimes creeping out of the ivy and the mystic fans, sometimes winding themselves. about the facred spears, and the womens chaplets.

struck the spectators with terrour.

Philip after this vision sent Chæron of Megalopolis to confult the oracle of Apollo at Delphi, by which he was commanded to facrifice to, and adore Jupiter Ammon above all the other gods. And it is faid that he lost that eye with which he prefumed to peep through the chink of the door, when he faw the god in the form of a ferpent lying by his. wife. Eratosthenes fays, that Olympias, when the: brought Alexander on his way in his first expedition, told him in private the fecret of his birth; and exhorted him to behave with courage fuitable to his divine extraction. Others again affirm, that fhe wholly declined this vanity, and used to fay, Will Alexander never leave making Juno jealous of me?

Alexander was born on the fixth of Hecatombæon [July]; (which month the Macedonians call Lous), the fame day that the temple of Diana at Ephefus was burnt; upon which occasion Hegesias? of Magnefia utters a conceit fo frigid that it might. have ferved to extinguish the flames: It is no wonder, fays he, that the temple of Diana should be burnt, as the was then attending as midwife at the birth of Alexander. All the priests and soothsayers who were then at Ephefus, looking upon the ruin of this temple to be the forerunner of some other calamity, ran about the town, beating their faces, and crying: out, that that day had brought forth something that would. prove fatal and destructive to all Asia. Philip had just taken Potidæa, when he received these three messa. ges on the fame day: that Parmenio had overthrown the Illyrians in a great battle; that his racehorie

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horse had won the prize at the Olympic games; and that his wife was brought to-bed of Alexander; with which being extremely pleased, as an addition to his satisfaction, the diviners assured him that a son whose birth was accompanied with three victo-

ries, could not fail of being invincible.

The statues that most resembled Alexander were those of Lysippus, by whom alone this prince would fuffer his image to be made. The inclination of his head which leaned a little to one fide, and the liveliness of his eyes, (in which particulars his friends and fuccessors chiefly affected to imitate him), were very accurately expressed by the artist. But Apelles, who drew him with thunderbolts in his hand, made his complexion browner and darker than it really was; for he is faid to have been fair, with a mixture of ruddiness chiefly in his face and upon his breaft. Ariftoxenus in his memoirs tells us. that an admirable scent proceeded from his skin, and that his breath and whole body was fo fragrant, as to perfume the cloaths which he wore next him: the cause of which might probably be his hot and adust temperament; for fweet smells, as Theophrastus conjectures, are produced by the concoction of moift humours by heat, which is the reason that those parts of the world which are drieft and most barnt up, afford spices of the best kind, and in the greatest quantity; for the heat of the sun exhausts the fuperfluous moisture; which floats upon the furface of bodies and generates putrefaction. And this hot constitution, it may be, rendered Alexander fo addicted to drinking, and fo choleric.

In his early youth he was very temperate with regard to the pleasures of the body, being with much difficulty incited to them, and always using them with great moderation; though in other things he was extremely eager and vehement. In his love and pursuit of glory he showed a dignity and magnanimity far above his age; for he neither

fought

fought nor valued it upon every flight occasion, as his father Philip did, who affected to show his eloquence like a sophist, and took care to have the victories of his chariots at the Olympic games engraven on his coin. But when Alexander was asked by some about him, whether he would run a race in the Olympic games, (for he was very swiftfooted), he answered, He would, if he might have kings to run with him. It is evident that he had no opinion of the athletic exercises; for though he often appointed prizes for tragedians, for performers on the flute and harp, and for rhapsodists, and gave entertainments of every kind of hunting, and of fighting with cudgels, yet he rarely gave any en-

couragement either to boxing or wreftling.

While he was yet very young, he entertained the ambaffadors from the king of Persia in the absence of his father, and charmed them with his politeness and affability; but they were peculiarly pleafed with the questions he asked them, which were far from being childish or trifling; for he inquired of them the distances of places, the manner of travelling in the remoter parts of Asia, the character of their king, how he behaved to his enemies, and what forces he was able to bring into the field; fo that they were struck with admiration of him, and looked upon the abilities of Philip, though fo highly celebrated, to be nothing in comparison of the extensive genius and enterprising spirit of his son. Whenever he heard that Philip had taken any town of importance, or won any fignal victory, inflead of rejoicing at it, he would tell his companions, that his father would anticipate every thing, and leave him and them no opportunities of performing great and illustrious actions. For being more addicted to virtue and glory, than either to pleafure or riches, he esteemed all that he should receive from his father, as a diminution of his own future achievements; and he would have chosen rather to succeed

to a kingdom involved in troubles and wars, which would have afforded him frequent exercise of his valour, and a large field of honour, than to one already flourishing and settled, where he must lead an unactive life, and be as it were buried in the

fordid enjoyments of wealth and luxury.

The care of his education was committed to a great many preceptors and tutors, over whom Leonidas, a kinfman of Olympias, a man of an aufterestemper, prefided. Though he did not decline the title of preceptor, the office itself being important and honourable, yet, because of his dignity and relation to the royal family, he was called by others. Alexander's foster-father and governour. But he who took upon him the place and name of his preceptor, was Lysimachus the Acarnanian, who, though not distinguished by his merit or polite accomplishments, recommended himself to favour, and obtained the next rank to Leonidas, merely by calling himself Phænix, Alexander Achilles, and Phicaling himself Phænix, Alexander Achilles, and Phicaling

lip Peleus.

When Philonicus the Theffalian brought the horse Bucephalus to Philip, offering to sell him forthirteen talents, they went into the field to try him; but they found him fo very vitious and unmanageable, that he reared up when they endeavoured to back him, and would not fo much as. endure the voice of any of Philip's attendants. Philip, difliking him and ordering his fervants to lead. him away as altogether wild and untractable, Alexander, who flood by, would not let them, faying, What an excellent borfe do they lofe, for want of address: and boldness to manage him? Philip at first took no notice of what he faid; but when he heard him. repeat the fame thing, and faw that he was uneafy, he faid, Do you reproach those who are elder than yourself, as if you knew more, and were better able to manage a horse than they? Yes, replied he, with this horse I could deal better than any one elfe. And if you do not, faid.

faid Philip, what will you forfeit for your rashness? The whole price of the horse, said Alexander. At this the whole company fell a-laughing; but as foon as the agreement was made between them about the money, he immediately ran to the horse, and taking hold of the bridle, turned him directly towards the fun, having it feems observed that he was frighted by the motion of his own shadow. Then letting him go forward a little, still keeping the reins in his hand, and stroking him gently, when he found his fury begin to abate, he let fall his upper garment foftly, and with one nimble leap mounted on his back; and when he was fecurely feated, by little and little he straitened the bridle, and curbed him without striking or teasing him. Afterwards, when he perceived his heat and mettle was less impetuous, though he was still eager to run, he let him go at full speed, not only encouraging him with a commanding voice, but preffing him forward also with his heel. All who were present beheld this action at first with filent astonishment, and apprehension for Alexander's fafety; till feeing him turn at the end of his career, and come back rejoicing and triumphing for what he had performed, they all burst out into acclamations of applause; and his father weeping for joy, kiffed him as he came down from his horse, and in his transport faid, O my fon, feek some kingdom equal to thy worth, for Macedonia is too little for thee.

Philip confidering that he was of a temper not easily controlled, and that though he might be led to his duty by reason, he was impatient of compulsion, always endeavoured to persuade, rather than to command him. And now looking upon instruction and education to be of too great difficulty and importance to be wholly trusted to those masters, who only taught him music, and other superficial and vulgar sciences, and to require, as Sophotles.

fays,

The guiding rudder and restraining curb,

he fent for Aristotle, the most knowing and celebrated philosopher of his time, and rewarded him with a munificence proportionable to the care he took to instruct his fon. For he repeopled his native city Stagira, which he had caused to be demolished a little before, restored to their habitations all the citizens who were in exile or flavery, and affigned them the Nymphæum for their studies and exercifes, near the town of Mieza, where to this day they show Aristotle's stone seats, and the shady walks which he used to frequent. It appears that Alexander was instructed by him not only in morality and policy, but in those more abstruse and difficult parts of learning, which are called by the peculiar names of Acroamatics, and Epoptics, and which are never communicated to the vulgar. For when he was in Asia, and heard that Aristotle had published some treatises of that kind, he wrote to him with great freedom in the behalf of philosophy, in this manner: Alexander to Aristotle, bealth. You have not done well to publish your books of acroamatics; for what is there now wherein I can surpass others, if those things in which I have been particularly instructed by you, be laid open to all? For my part, I had rather excel others in the knowledge of the sublimer sciences, than in the extent of my power and dominion. Farewell. Aristotle, to appeafe him and gratify this noble ambition, answered that those books were indeed published, but not the fubject of them. For indeed his metaphysics are written in such a manner that they are unferviceable to learners, and ufeful only to those who are well versed in the principles of that science. It was probably to Aristotle that he owed the knowledge he had in physic: for when any of his friends were fick, he would often prefcribe them their course of diet, and medicines pro-

per to their disease, as we may find in his epistles. He was naturally a great lover of every kind of learning, and much addicted to reading; but the book he delighted in most was Homer's iliad, which he esteemed and called a treasure of military knowledge. He always had with him a copy of it which had been corrected for him by Aristotle, and which is called the casket-copy. Onesicritus informs us that he laid this with his dagger every night under his pillow. When he was in upper Afia, where he could not be fo eafily supplied with books, he ordered Harpalus to fend him fome; who furnished him with Philiftus's hiftory, a great many of the tragedies of Euripides, Sophocles, and Æschylus, and fome dithyrambics composed by Telestes and Philoxenus. For some time he had as great a respect and affection (as he used to fay himself) for Aristotle as for his father Philip; for one, he faid, had given him life, and the other had taught him how to live But afterwards he had some mistrust of him, though not fo much as to do him any injury; but the kindness he continued to show him not being accompanied with that warmth and tenderness which he had formerly expressed, proved that his affection was abated. However that love of learning which was natural to him, and which his education had increased, never left him, as appears by the respect he showed to Anaxarchus, by the present of fifty talents which he sent to Xenocrates, and his particular care and efteem for Dandamis and Calanus.

When Philip went on an expedition against the Byzantines, he left Alexander, then sixteen years old, his lieutenant in Macedonia, and intrusted him with the royal signet. Alexander in his father's absence reduced the rebellious Medarans, and having taken their chief town by storm, drove out the barbarous inhabitants, and planting a colony of several nations in their room, called the place Alexander in the state of the

andropolis.

andropolis. At the battle of Chæronæa, which his father fought against the Grecians, he is said to have been the first man that charged the sacred band of the Thebans. And even in my remembrance there stood an old oak near the river Cephisus, which the country-people called Alexander's oak, because his tent was pitched under it. And not far off are to be seen the graves of the Macedonians who fell in that battle. This early bravery made Philip so fond of him, that nothing pleased him more than to hear his subjects call Alexander

their king, and himself their general.

But the diforders of his family, chiefly caused by his marriages and amours, (the whole kingdom in a manner taking part in the quarrels of the women), produced many disputes and dissensions between them, which the ill-nature of Olympias, a woman of a jealous and implacable temper, still increafed by exasperating Alexander against his father. Among other things, this accident contributed greatly to inflame their refentment. At the wedding of Cleopatra, whom Philip married, though the was much too young for him, her uncle Attalus in his cups defired the Macedonians would implore the gods to give them a lawful fucceffor to . the kingdom by his niece. This fo incenfed Alexander, that he threw one of the cups at him, crying out, You villain, what am I then a bastard? Philip immediately started up and ran towards his fon with his fword drawn; but by the good fortune of both, his excessive rage, and the wine he had drank, made his foot flip, fo that he fell down on the floor. At which Alexander most reproachfully insulted over him : See there, faid he, the man, who was preparing to pass out of Europe into Asia, overturned in passing from one feat to another. Soon after this drunken brawl, he and his mother Olympias went from court; and when he had placed her in Epirus, he himself retired into Illyricum. About

About this time Demaratus the Corinthian, an old friend of the family, who had the liberty of faying any thing among them without offence, came to vifit Philip. After the first compliments and embraces were over, Philip asked him, Whether the Grecians lived in amity with one another? It ill becomes you, replied Demaratus, to inquire after the state of Greece, who have involved your own house in so many dissensions and calamities. Philip was fo touched by this feafonable reproach, that he immediately fent for his fon home, and at last, by Demaratus's mediation, prevailed with him to return. But this reconciliation lasted not long; for when Pexodorus, governour of Caria, fent Aristocritus to treat of a match between his eldeft daughter and Philip's fon Aridæus, hoping by this alliance to fecure his affiftance upon occasion, Alexander's mother and friends took occasion, by idle reports and flanders, to raise a suspicion in his mind, that Philip intended by means of this fplendid and powerful alliance to make Aridæus his fucceffor in the kingdom. This gave him great uneafiness; he therefore dispatched one Theffalus a player into Caria, to perfuade Pexodorus to think no more of Aridæus, who was both illegitimate and a fool, and rather to accept of him for his fon-in-law. This proposition was much more agreeable to Pexodorus than the former. But Philip, as foon as ever he was made acquainted with this transaction, went directly to his fon's apartment, accompanied only by one of his most intimate friends, Philotas the fon of Parmenio, and there reproved him with great feverity and bitterness; he upbraided him with the meanness and degeneracy of his spirit, and told him that he was unworthy of the crown he was to inherit, fince he could degrade himself so far as to desire the alliance of a Carian, who was at best but the vasfal of a barbarous prince. Nor did this fatisfy his refentment: for he wrote to the Corinthians, bidding them E e

fend Theffalus to him in chains, and banished Harpalus, Nearchus, Phrygius, and Ptolemy, his son's confidents and favourites, whom Alexander afterwards recalled, and raised to great honour and

preferment.

Not long after this, a youth named Pausanias, having been forcibly abused by the contrivance of Attalus and Cleopatra, and finding he could get no reparation for his difference at Philip's hands, watched his opportunity and murdered him. The guilt of this fact was partly charged upon Olympias, who is faid to have encouraged and exasperated the enraged youth to revenge, and partly upon Alexander himself, who, when Pausanias came and complained to him of the injury he had received, repeated this line out of Euripides's Medea,

The bridal father, bridegroom, and the bride.

However, he took care to find out and punish the accomplices of the conspiracy, and was very angry with Olympias for treating Cleopatra with too

great rigour in his absence.

Alexander was but twenty years old when he fucceeded to the kingdom, which was exposed on all fides to envy, hatred, and danger, the barbarous nations that bordered on Macedonia, being impatient of being governed by any but their own native princes; and though Philip had been victorious over the Grecians, yet as he had not time to fubdue their spirits and inure them to the yoke, he had only disturbed and unsettled the state of affairs, which were left in great uncertainty and confusion, because custom had not yet rendered the change familiar and easy. The Macedonians therefore, thinking the fituation of the kingdom critical and dangerous, advised Alexander to abandon all defigns of fubduing Greece, and to endeavour to reduce the neighbouring nations by gentle means, and prevent innovations in their very beginning.

he rejected this counsel as weak and timorous, and rather chose to secure himself by resolution and magnanimity, than by seeming to stand in sear of any, to encourage all to trample on him. In consequence of this determination, he disappointed the hostile designs of the Barbarians by making a sudden incursion into their country, as far as the river liter, where he gave Syrmus king of the Triballians a considerable overthrow. And hearing that the I hebans were ready to revolt, and that the Athenians joined with them, he immediately marched through the straits of Thermopylæ, saying, Demosthenes called me a child while I was in Illyricum and the country of the Triballians, and a youth while I was in Thessay; I will now show him before the walls.

of Athens that I am a man.

When he came to Thebes, being willing to accept of their repentance for what was past, he only demanded of them Phoenix and Prothytes the authors of the rebellion, and proclaimed a general pardon to those who would come over to him. But when the Thebans, on the other fide, not only required Philotas and Antipater to be delivered into their hands, but also publicly invited all who would affert the liberty of Geeece into an affociation with them, he refolved to turn his arms against The Thebans indeed defended themselves by their alacrity and courage more than by their ftrength, being much outnumbered by their enemies. But when the Macedonian garrifon fallied out upon them from the citadel, they were fo encompassed on all sides, that most of them fell in the battle. The city itself being taken, was facked and razed, on purpose that so severe an example might terrify the rest of Greece into obedience. However, to colour this feverity, he gave out that he was forced to it by the pressing complaints and accusations of his confederates the Phocians and Platæans. So that, except the priefts, those be-E e 2

tween whom and the Macedonians a right of hospitality subsisted, the family of the poet Pindar, and those who were known to have opposed the rebellion, all the rest, to the number of thirty thousand, were publicly fold for flaves; and it is computed, that upwards of fix thousand were put to the fword. Among the other calamities that befel this miferable city, it happened that fome Thracian foldiers plundered and demolished the house of an illustrious matron named Timoclea; and their captain, after he had ravished her, asked her if she had any money concealed; the answered that the had, and bid him follow her into the garden, where the showed him a well, into which she told him, upon the taking of the city, she had thrown what the had of most value. The Thracian stooping down to view the place, she came behind him and pushed him into the well, and then threw great stones in upon him, till she had killed him. After which, when the foldiers led her away bound to Alexander, her mien and carriage showed her to be a woman of a noble rank and an elevated mind; for the did not betray the leaft fign of fear or aftonishment. And when the king asked her who she was, I am, faid she, the fifter of Theagenes, who commanded in the buttle of Chæronea, against your father Philip, and fell there for the liberty of Greece, Alexander was fo surprised at both her action and her speech, that he gave her and her children full liberty to go whither they pleafed.

After this he received the Athenians into favour, although they had showed themselves so much concerned at the calamity of Thebes, that they omitted the celebration of their festivals, and entertained those who escaped with all possible humanity. But whether his fury, like that of lions, was pacified after being so fully glutted with slaughter, or whether after an example of horrid cruelty he had a mind to appear merciful, he not only forgave the

Athenians

Athenians their past offences, but advised them to look to their affairs with caution and vigilance, upon this consideration, that if he should die they were like to be the arbiters of Greece. It is certain, that he often repented of his severity to the Thebans, and his remorfe had such insluence on his temper, as to make him afterwards less rigorous to many others. He imputed also the murder of Clitus, which he committed in his wine, and the base desertion of the Macedonians, who refused to follow him against the Indians, (by which his glory was tarnished and his enterprise lest impersect), to the wrath and vengeance of Bacchus, the protector of Thebes. And it was observed, that whatsoever any Theban, who survived this victory, asked of

him, was certainly granted.

Soon after this the Grecians being affembled at the ifthmus of Peloponnesus, declared their resolution of joining with Alexander in the war against the Persians, and made choice of him for their general. While he ftaid there, many ftatefmen and philosophers came from all parts to visit him, and congratulate him upon his election. He expected the fame compliment from Diogenes of Sinope, for he was then at Corinth; but when he found that he took no notice of him, and that he did not fo much as ftir out of the fuburb called Cranium, where he refided, Alexander went thither himfelf to visit him. Diogenes was at that time lying on the ground and basking himself in the fun; but when he faw fo much company near him, he raifed himself a little, and looked upon Alexander, who, after faluting him, asked him whether he wanted any thing; Only, replied he, stand from between me and the fun. Alexander was so affected at this anfwer, and fo furprifed at the greatness of the man's foul, who had taken fo little notice of him, that, as he went away, he told his followers, who were laughing at the moroseness of the philosopher, Ee 3

That if he were not Alexander, he could wish to be Dio-

genes.

Then he went to Delphi, to confult Apollo concerning the fuccess of the war he had undertaken; and happening to come at a time that was efteemed unlucky, when it was unlawful to give any answers from the oracle, he fent messengers to desire the priestess to do her office; but she refusing to comply, alleging that there was a law to the contrary, he went up himself, and drew her by force into the temple, where tired and overcome with flruggling, My fon, faid she, thou art invincible. Alexander hearing this declared he had received fuch an anfiver as he wished for, and that it was needless to confult the god any further. Among other prodigies that preceded the march of his army, the image of Orpheus at Libethra, made of cyprefs wood, was feen to fweat very plentifully. discouraged many; but Aristander told him, that far from prefaging any ill to him, it fignified he should perform such important and glorious actions as would make the poets and muficians of future ages labour and fweat to describe and celebrate them.

His army, by the smallest computation, consisted of thirty thousand foot, and five thousand horse; and according to the largest account, of thirty-four thousand foot, and four thousand horse. Aristobulus fays, he had not a fund of above feventy talents for their pay, nor more than thirty days provision, if we may believe Duris; and Onesicritus tells us, he was two hundred talents in debt. But though he fet out on this expedition with fuch fcanty and inconfiderable fupplies, yet he would not embark his army, till he had informed himself particularly what estates his friends had; to some of them therefore he gave lands, to fome villages, and to others the annual profit of some town or harbour. Having thus disposed of his whole revenue, Perdiccas

Perdiccas asked him what he had left for himself? he replied, My hopes. Let us then, said Perdiccas, who are to share with you in your dangers, share with you in your hopes also. Perdiccas therefore refused to accept the estate he had assigned to him; and some others of his friends did the same; but to those who willingly received, or desired assistance of him, he liberally granted it, so that the greatest part of his patrimony in Macedonia was spent in those donations.

With this disposition and these vigorous resolutions, he paffed the Hellespont. At Troy he facrificed to Minerva, and honoured the memory of the heroes who were buried there, with folemn funeral libations. He anointed the monument of Achilles, and, as the ancient custom was, ran naked about it with his friends, and crowned it with garlands, declaring how happy he efteemed him, in having while he lived, fo faithful a friend as Patroclus, and when he was dead, so famous a poet as Homer to immortalize his actions. While he was viewing the rest of the antiquities and curiosities of the place, being told he might fee Paris's harp, if he pleased, he faid, He thought it not worth looking on, but he should be glad to see that of Achilles, with which he had celebrated the glory and renowned actions of so many brave men.

In the mean time Darius's lieutenants had drawn together a great army, and lay encamped on the banks of the Granicus. This was in a manner the door leading out of Europe into Afia, and Alexander was under a necessity of forcing it open by an engagement with the enemy. The depth of the river, with the unevenness and difficult ascent of the opposite bank, which was to be gained by main force, was apprehended by some; and others were so superstitious as to think it an improper time to engage, because it was unusual for the kings of Macedonia to march with their forces in the month

of June. But Alexander broke through these scruples, telling them, they fhould call it a fecond May. And when Parmenio advised him not to attempt any thing that day, because it was late, he told him, That he should affront the Hellespont which he had lately. passed, should be fear the Granicus. He therefore immediately entered the river with thirteen troops of horfe, and advanced against whole showers of darts thrown from the other fide, notwithstanding the number of the enemy drawn up to oppose him, the disadvantage of the ground, and the rapidity of the stream; fo that this action feemed to have more of rage and madness in it, than of prudent conduct. However he perfifted obstinately to make good his paffage, and at last, with great difficulty, climbing up the banks, which were very flippery by reason. of the mud, he was forced to mingle among the thickest of the enemy, and fight hand to hand for a while, before he could bring his men, who were endeavouring still to pass into any order. The enemy began the attack with loud shouts, and charging his cavalry with theirs, first fought with their, javelins, and when they were broken, with their fwords. And notwithstanding many pressed hard on Alexander himfelf, (who was remarkable by his buckler and his creft, on each fide of which was a very large and beautiful plume of white feathers), yet he escaped unhurt, though his cuirass was pierced by a javelin at the joint. Rhæfaces and Spithridates, two Persian commanders, attacked him at once; but he with great address avoided Spithridates, and struck his javelin with such force against Rhæfaces's cuirafs that it broke in pieces, upon which he betook himself to his fword. While they were thus engaged, Spithridates watching his opportunity, came up on one fide of him, and raifing himself upon his horse, gave him such a blow with his battle-ax on the helmet, that he cut off the crest of it, with one side of his plume; and the helmet

helmet itself could hardly refift the force of the stroke, for the edge of the weapon penetrated for far as to touch the very hair of his head. But as' Spithridates was about to repeat his stroke, Clitus prevented him by running him through the body with his spear. At the same time, Alexander difpatched Rhæfaces with his fword. While the horse were thus dangerously engaged, the Macedonian phalanx paffed the river, and the foot on each fide advanced to fight. But the enemy hardly fuftaining the first onset, soon gave ground and fled, all but the Grecian mercenaries, who, making a fland upon a rifing ground, defired quarter; which Alexander, guided rather by passion than judgment, refused to grant, and charging them himself first, had his horse (not Bucephalus, but another) killed under him. In this attack upon these experienced and desperate men, he had more of his foldiers killed and wounded than in all the rest of the bat-The Persians lost in the engagement twenty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse. On Alexander's side, as Aristobulus says, there were killed no more than thirty-four, nine of which were foot. To eternize their memory he erected a statue of each of them in brass, of the workmanship of Lysippus. And that the Grecians might participate the fruits of his victory, he shared the booty among them. Particularly to the Athenians he fent three hundred bucklers; and upon all the rest of the spoils he ordered this boasting inscription to be set: Alexander the son of Philip, and all the Grecians, except the Lacedamonians, won thefe from the Barbarians who inhabit Afia. All the plate and purple garments, and whatever elfe of any value he took from the Perfians, except a very fmall quantity, he fent as a prefent to his mother.

This battle foon made a great change of affairs to Alexander's advantage. For Sardis itself, the chief seat of the Barbarian power in the maritime

provinces,

provinces, and many other confiderable places, were furrendered to him; only Halicarnassus and Miletus flood out, which he foon took by force, together with the adjacent territories. After this he was a little unfettled in his opinion how to proceed: fometimes he thought it best to find out Darius as foon as he could, and put all to the hazard of a battle; at other times he looked upon it as a more prudent course, to make an entire conquest of the fea-coast, and not to feek the enemy till he was strengthened by the addition of the wealth and forces of those provinces. While he was thus deliberating what to do, it happened, that a fountain near the city of Xanthus in Lycia, of its own accord swelled over its banks, and threw up a copper-plate upon the shore, on which was engraven in ancient characters, That the time would come when the Persian empire should be destroyed by the Grecians. Encouraged by this accident, he proceeded to reduce all the fea-coast as far as Phænice and Cilicia. His paffage through Pamphylia has been very pompoully described by historians, and reprefented as in the highest degree marvellous and aftonishing; as though by some divine power the waves which used to roll in impetuously from the main, and hardly ever leave the beach under the steep broken cliffs uncovered, retired to afford him a paffage. Menander alludes to this extravagant story in these verses of one of his comedies:

Fortune to me is strangely kind.
The very man I wish to find,
As if by magical device,
Starts up before me in a trice.
Should I desire to cross the sea,
The waves would leave the passage free;
Secure I'd march from shore to shore.
Could Alexander's self do more?

But Alexander, in his epiftles, mentions no fuch extraordinary

traordinary event, but fays, that in his march from Phaselis he went through the passage called Climax. At Phaselis he staid some time; and finding the statue of Theodectes, who was a native of that town, and was then dead, erected in the marketplace, after he had supped, and drank plentifully, he went and danced about it, and crowned it with garlands; thus not ungracefully paying honour in his mirth to the memory of his friend, whose conversation he had formerly enjoyed, when he was

Aristotle's scholar.

Soon after this he fubdued the Pisidians who made head against him, and conquered the Phrygians, at whose chief city Gordium (which is faid to have been the feat of the ancient Midas) he faw the famous chariot fastened with cords made of the bark of the cornel-tree, and was informed that the inhabitants had a constant tradition, that the empire of the world was referved for him who should untie the knot. Most are of opinion, that Alexanderfinding that he could not untie it, because the ends of it were fecretly folded up within it, cut it afunder with his fword, fo that feveral ends appeared. But Aristobulus tells us that he very easily undid it, by only pulling the pin out of the beam which fastened the yoke to it, and afterwards drawing out the voke itself. From hence he advanced into Paphlagonia and Cappadocia, both which countries he foon reduced; and then hearing of the death of Memnon, the best commander Darius had upon the fea-coasts, who, if he had lived, might have put a great stop to the progress of his arms, he was the rather induced to carry the war into the upper provinces of Afia.

Darius was by this time upon his march from Sufa, firmly confiding, not only in the number of his men, who amounted to fix hundred thousand, but likewife in a dream which the magicians interpreted rather in flattery to him, than with any re336

gard to truth. He dreamed that he faw the Macedonian phalanx all on fire, and Alexander waiting on him clad in the fame robe which he used to wear when he was Afgandes to the late king; after which going into the temple of Belus, he vanished out of his fight. By this dream, in my opinion, the gods defigned to show him that the actions of the Macedonians would be very illustrious, and that as he from an Afgandes had arrived at the crown, fo Alexander should come to be master of Afia, and not long furviving his conquefts, conclude his life with great glory. Darius's confidence increafed the more, because Alexander spent so much time in Cilicia, which he imputed to his cowardice: but it was fickness that detained him there, which fome fay he contracted by fatiguing himself too much, others by bathing in the river Cydnus, whose waters were exceeding cold. However it happened, none of his physicians would venture to give him any remedies, thinking his cafe desperate, and fearing the cenfure and refentment of the Macedonians, if they should fail in the cure; till Philip the Acarnanian confidering his extreme danger, and confiding in his friendship, resolved to try the utmost efforts of his art, and rather hazard his own credit and life, than fuffer him to perish for want of physic, which he confidently administered to him, encouraging him to take it boldly, if he defired a fpeedy recovery in order to profecute the war. At this very time Parmenio wrote to Alexander from the camp, bidding him beware of Philip, he being bribed to kill him by Darius, who had offered him great fums of money, and promifed him his daughter in marriage. When he had perused the letter, he put it under his pillow, without showing it to any of his friends. At the hour appointed, Philip, attended by the other physicians, came into the bedchamber with the potion he had prepared for the king, who delivered him the letter

to read, and at the same time swallowed the potion with great cheerfulness and intrepidity. This was a very fingular and striking scene, Alexander drinking the medicine, and Philip reading the letter at the fame time, each looking earnestly upon the other, but with different fentiments; for Alexander's looks were cheerful and open, expressing his kindness to Philip, and his considence in him; while the other feemed aftonished at the accusation, and appealed to the gods to witness his innocence, Sometimes lifting up his hands to heaven, and then throwing himself down by the bedside, and befeeching Alexander to lay afide all fear, and rely on his fidelity. The medicine at first wrought so strongly upon him, that it overcame his fpirits, and brought him fo low that he loft his fpeech, and falling into a fwoon had scarce any sense left; but soon after by Philip's means his health and strength returned, and he showed himself in public to the Macedonians, who were in continual fear and dejection till they faw him abroad again.

There was at this time in Darius's army a Macedonian fugitive, named Amyntas, who was well acquainted with Alexander's temper. This man, when he faw that Darius intended to march through the strait passages in order to meet the enemy, advised him rather to remain in the open country, as he had fo great an army, and was to engage with one much inferiour in number. Darius told him he was afraid the enemy would endeavour to run away, and fo Alexander would escape out of his hands. That fear, replied Amyntas, is needless; for you may assure yourself, that, far from avoiding you, he will make all the speed he can to meet you, and is now on his march towards you. But Amyntas's counsel was to no purpose; for Darius immediately decamping, marched into Cilicia, at the same time that Alexander advanced into Syria to meet him; but missing one another in the night, they both came back again.

F f Alexander,

Alexander, being highly pleafed with the accident, made all the hafte he could to fight in the narrow passages, while Darius strove to recover his former ground, and draw his army out of fo difadvantageous a place. For now he began to perceive his errour in engaging too far into a country, which by reason of the sea, the mountains, and the river Pinarus, which ran through the midst of it, would necessitate him to divide his forces, render his horse almost unserviceable, and only cover and supply the weakness of the enemy. Fortune having afforded fo favourable a fituation to Alexander, he was careful to improve it to the best advantage. For though much inferior in numbers, he would not fuffer himfelf to be inclosed, but stretched his right wing much further out than the left of the enemy's, and fighting there himself in the very foremost ranks, put the barbarians to flight. In this battle he was wounded in the thigh by Darius, (as Chares fays), with whom he fought hand to hand. But in the account which he himself gave Antipater of the battle, though indeed he owns that he was wounded in the thigh with a fword, though not dangeroufly, he takes no notice who it was that wounded him.

Nothing was wanting to complete this glorious victory, which he had gained at the expense of above an hundred and ten thousand of his enemies lives, but the taking the person of Darius, who escaped very narrowly by slight, having the start of him by only four or five furlongs. However, having taken his chariot and his bow, he returned from pursuing him, and found his own men busy in pillaging the camp of the Barbarians, which was exceedingly rich; though Darius thinking it unsafe to take the field with too much baggage, had left most of it behind at Damascus. But they reserved for Alexander himself the tent of Darius, which was filled with attendants richly clothed, with costly furniture, and vast quantities of gold and silver. After he had put

off his armour, he went to bathe, faying, Let us now cleanse and refresh ourselves after the satigues of the battle, in Darius's bath. Not so, replied one of his followers, but in Alexander's rather, for the goods of the vanquished are, and always ought to be reputed the conqueror's. Here, when he beheld the bathing vessels, the water-pots, vials, and ointment-boxes all of gold, curiously wrought, and smelt the fragrant odours with which the whole place was exquisitely perfumed, and from thence passed into another losty and spacious apartment, where the couches, the table, and the entertainment were wonderfully magnificent, he turned to those about him, and said, This,

it feems, it was to be a king.

As he was going to supper, word was brought him, that Darius's mother and wife, and two unmarried daughters, being taken among the rest of the prisoners, upon the fight of his chariot and bow burst into the most violent lamentation, imagining him to be dead. After a little pause, more pitying their affliction than rejoicing in his own fuccess, he fent Leonatus to them, to let them know Darius was not dead, and that they need not be afraid of Alexander, who made war upon Darius only for dominion; and that they should find themselves as well provided for as ever they were in Darius's most flourishing condition, when his empire was entire. This kind meffage could not but be very welcome to the captive princesses, especially as it was followed by actions no less humane and generous: for he gave them leave to bury whom they pleased of the Persians, and to make use of what garments and furniture they thought fit out of the booty. He diminished nothing of their equipage, or of the respect formerly paid them, and allowed larger pensions for their maintenance, than ever they had before. But the noblest and most royal instance of his generosity was, that he never suffered those illustrious and virtuous prisoners to hear, Ff2

or even to apprehend and fuspect any thing that was indecent; fo that they feemed lodged in fome temple, or facred retreat of virgins, where they enjoyed an undisturbed privacy, rather than in the camp of an enemy. Not that he wanted temptation; for Darius's wife was accounted the most beautiful princess then living, as her husband was the tallest and comeliest man of his time; and the daughters were no lefs beautiful than their parents. But Alexander esteeming it more glorious to govern himself than to conquer his enemies, touched none of them, nor enjoyed any other woman before marriage, except Barfina, Memnon's widow, who was taken prisoner at Damascus. She was very knowing in the Grecian learning, and of an amiable temper; and her father Artabazus was the fon of the king's daughter. Alexander therefore being urged by Parmenio (as Aristobulus tells us) was defirous to obtain the possession of a woman in whom beauty was joined with an illustrious descent and an exalted mind. Of the rest of the female captives, though they were tall and beautiful, he took no further notice than to fay jocofely, What eye-fores these Persian women are! To the beauty of their perfons he opposed as a counter-charm the beauty of temperance and continence; fo that he viewed them with as little emotion as if they had been lifeless ftatues. And when Philoxenus, his lieutenant on the fea-coaft, wrote to him to know if he would buy two very fine boys, which one Theodorus a Tarentine had to fell, he was fo offended, that he often cried out aloud to his friends, What baseness: has Philoxenus ever observed in me, that he should prefume to make me fuch a reproachful offer? and immediately wrote him a very fharp letter, commanding him to difmifs Theodorus, and his vile merchandife with difgrace. Nor was he less severe to Agnon, who fent him word he would buy a Corinthian youth celebrated for his beauty named Groby-1115,

lus, to present him with. And hearing that Damon and Timotheus, two of Parmenio's soldiers, had abused the wives of some strangers who were in his pay, he wrote to Parmenio, charging him strictly, if he found them guilty, to put them to death, like those noxious animals whom nature has formed to poison and destroy mankind. In the same letter he added, that he had not so much as seen, or destred to see, the wife of Darius, no, nor suffered any body to speak of her beauty before him. He used to say, that sleep, and the act of generation, chiefly made him sensible that he was mortal; because weariness and pleasure both proceeded from the same frailty and imbecillity of human nature.

In his diet he was extremely temperate, as appears among other proofs, by what he faid to Ada, whom he called his mother, and afterwards, created queen of Caria. For when the out of kindness fent him every day many curious dishes, and fweetmeats, and would have furnished him with fuch cooks and makers of paftry as were excellent in their kind, he told her, He wanted none of them, his preceptor Leonidas having already given him the best, for he taught him by marching before day-light to prepare for his dinner, and by dining moderately to create an appetite for supper. And he added, that Leonidas used to open and search the furniture of his chamber and his wardrobe, to see if his mother had put there any thing that was nice or superfluous. He was much less addicted to wine than was generally believed. That which gave people occasion to think so of him, was, that when he had nothing elfe to do, he loved to fit long at table, though he discoursed rather than drank, and talked a great while between every glafs. For when his affairs called upon him, he would not be detained as other generals often were, either by wine, or fleep, nuptial folemnities, spectacles, or any other diversion whatsoever: a convincing argument of which is, that in the short time he Ff3

lived, he accomplished so many great actions. When he was free from employment, his manner of life was this: As foon as he rose he facrificed to the gods; he then fat down to dinner, and fpent the rest of the day either in hunting, or in disciplining and regulating his foldiers, or in reading. marches that required no great hafte, he would learn to shoot as he went along, or to mount a chariot and alight from it in full speed. Sometimes, as his journals tell us, he would divert himself with fox-hunting, and fowling; and when he came to the place where he was to lodge, after he had bathed, and was anointed, he would call for his bakers, and chief cooks, to know if they had made the neceffary preparations for supper. He never supped early nor before it was quite dark; and he was extremely careful at meals that no one should be neglected, and that all who fat with him should be ferved alike. His talkative humour, as I mentioned before, made him delight to fit long at table; and then, though otherwise no prince's conversation was ever fo agreeable, and though he was poffeffed of all the charms and graces of discourse, he would talk in fo vaunting and oftentatious a strain, and dwell fo much on his military exploits, that he gave his flatterers a great advantage over him, and caused great disgust to the sensible part of the company, who though they difdained to contend with the others in flattery, yet were afraid to praise him less; so that between the shame and the danger they were greatly at a loss how to conduct themselves. After he rose from table, he used to bathe, and then went to rest; and he would often sleep till noon, and fometimes all day long. He was fo very temperate in his diet, that when any excellent fish or fruits were fent him, he would distribute them among his friends, and hardly referve any for his own eating. His table however was always magnificent, the expense of it still increasing with his good

good fortune, till it amounted to ten thousand drachmas a-day, to which sum he limited it; and he would never suffer any one to lay out more than this in an entertainment to which he was invited.

After the battle of Issus, he sent to Damascus to feize upon the money and baggage, the wives and children of the Persians, of which the Thessalian horsemen had the greatest share; for as they had greatly diffinguished themselves by their bravery in the fight, he fent them thither on purpose to make their reward fuitable to their courage: not but that the rest of the army considerably enriched themfelves. This first gave the Macedonians such a tafte of the wealth, women, and manner of living of the Persians, that they pursued and traced their gold with the eagerness and ardour of hounds upon a fcent. Alexander, before he proceeded any further, thought it necessary to make himself mafter of the lea-coast. Those who governed in Cyprus, put that island into his possession; and all Phœnicia, except Tyre, was furrendered to him without refistance. During the fiege of this city, which with mounts of earth cast up, and battering engines, and two hundred galleys by fea, was carried on for feven months together, he dreamed that he faw Hercules upon the walls, reaching out his hand, and calling to him. And many of the Tyrians in their sleep fancied that Apollo told them he was displeased with their actions, and was about to leave them, and go over to Alexander. Upon which, as if the god were a fugitive taken in the fact, they chained his statue, and nailed it to the pedestal, calling him an Alexandrist. Another time Alexander dreamed that he faw a fatyr mocking him at a distance; and when he endeavoured to catch him, he still escaped from him; till at last after much entreaty, and a long pursuit, he suffered him to take hold of him. The foothfayers making The inhabitants at this time show the fountain near which Alexander slept, when he fancied the satyr

appeared to him.

While the body of the army lay before Tyre, he: made a short excursion against the Arabians, who inhabit Mount Antilibanus. There he hazarded his life, to bring off his master Lysimachus, who would needs go along with him, boafting that he was neither older, nor inferiour in courage to Phœ. nix, Achilles's tutor, whose name he affected to bear. For when quitting their horses, they marched up the hill on foot, the rest of the foldiers outwent them a great deal; for night drawing on, and the enemy being near, Alexander would not leave Lysimachus who was spent and fatigued, but staid behind to encourage and help him; fo that, before he was aware, he found that he was a great way from his army with a flender attendance, and that he must pass the night, which was extremely dark and cold, in a very uncomfortable place. At last feeing a great many fcattered fires of the enemy at fome distance, and trusting to his agility of body, and being always used, by showing himself indefatigable in labour, to relieve and support the Mace, donians in their diftress, he ran to one of the neareft fires, and with his dagger killing two of the Barbarians that fat by it, fnatched up a lighted brand, and returned with it to his own men, who immediately made a great fire; which fo terrified the enemy, that most of them fled, and those that affaulted them were foon routed, by which means they lodged fecurely the rest of the night. This action is related by Chares.

But to return to the fiege, it had this issue. Alexander, that he might refresh his army, has rassed with many former encounters, drew out only a small party, rather to keep the enemy employed, than with any prospect of much advantage.

It happened at this time, that Aristander, after he had facrificed and viewed the entrails, affirmed confidently to those who stood by, that the city would be certainly taken that very month. This prediction was received with great laughter and contempt, that day being the last of the month. But the king taking notice of his perplexity, and always favouring predictions, commanded that they should not reckon that the thirtieth, but the twenty-eighth day of the month, and ordering the trumpets to found, attacked the walls more vigorously than he at first intended. The fury of the assault so inflamed the rest of his forces who were left in the camp, that they could not refrain from advancing to fecond it; and the Tyrians not being able towithstand them, the town was taken that very day. Afterwards while he was employed in the fiege of Gaza the metropolis of Syria, a bird flying over him, let a clod of earth fall upon his shoulder, and then fettling upon one of the battering engines, was fuddenly entangled in the thongs by which the ropes of the machine were turned. This was agreeable to Aristander's prediction, who foretold that Alexander should be wounded in the shoulder, and the city reduced.

From hence he sent great part of the spoils to Olympias, Cleopatra, and the rest of his friends, not omitting his preceptor Leonidas, on whom he bestowed five hundred talents weight of frankincense, and an hundred of myrrh, prompted to it by the remembrance of the hopes which Leonidas had of him when he was but a child. For Leonidas, it seems, seeing him one day while he was sacrificing sill both his hands with frankincense, and throw it into the fire, told him, it became him to be more sparing in offerings then, and not to be so profuse till he was master of the countries where those rich gums were produced. Upon this account Alexander wrote him word, that he had sent him a large quantity of myrrh and frankincense,

frankincense, that for the future he might not be so nig-

gardly to the gods.

Among the treasures and other booty taken from Darius, there was a very rich and curious casket, which being prefented to Alexander, he asked those about him what they thought fittest to be laid up in it; and when each had delivered his opinion, he told them he esteemed nothing so worthy to be preferved in it as Homer's Iliad. This flory is attested by many credible authors; and if that be true which the inhabitants of Alexandria, relying upon the credit of Heraclides, tell us, Homer was not an idle nor unprofitable companion to him in his expedition. For when he was mafter of Egypt, defigning to fettle a colony of Grecians there, he refolved to build a large and populous city, and give it his own name. After he had meafured and inclosed the ground with the advice of his workmen, he one night in his fleep faw a wonderful vifion: a grey headed old man, of a venerable afpect, appeared to stand by him, and pronounce these verfes :

High o'er a gulphy sea the Pharian isle Fronts the deep roar of disemboguing Nile. Pope.

Alexander upon this immediately rose up and went to Pharos, which at that time was an island lying a little above the Canobic mouth of the Nile, though now it is joined to the continent by a causey. As soon as he saw the commodious situation of the place opposite to the island, it being a neck of land of a suitable breadth, having on one side a great lake, and on the other the sea which there forms a capacious haven, he said, Homer, beside his other excellencies, was a very good architect; and ordered the plan of a city to be drawn answerable to the place. For want of chalk, the soil being black, they made use of slour, with which they drew a line about the semicircular bay that forms the haven;

ven; this was again inclosed by straight lines, and the figure of the city resembled that of a Macedonian cloak. While he was pleasing himself with his design, on a sudden an infinite number of great birds of several kinds, rising like a black cloud out of the river and the lake, devoured all the flour that was used in marking out the lines; at which omen Alexander was much troubled, till the augurs encouraged him to proceed, by telling him it was a sign that the city he was about to build, would enjoy such plenty of all things, that it would contribute to the nourishment and support of many nations. He therefore commanded the workmen to go on, while he went to visit the temple of Jupiter Ammon.

This was a long, laborious, and difficult journey, and dangerous in two respects: first, because of the want of water, on which account the country is quite uninhabited for the space of many days journey; and, fecondly, because of the violence of the fouth-wind, which might rife upon them, while they were travelling through the vast deep fands, as it did formerly upon Cambyfes's army, blowing the fand together in heaps, and rolling it in waves upon his men, till fifty thousand were swallowed up and destroyed by it. All these difficulties were weighed and reprefented to him; but Alexander was not eafily to be diverted from any thing he was For fortune having hitherto feconded bent upon. him in his defigns, made him obstinate in his resolutions; and the greatness of his mind raised a confidence in him of furmounting almost invincible difficulties; as if it were not enough to be always victorious in the field, unless places, and seasons, and nature herself submitted to him. The relief and affiftance he met with through all the difficulties of his journey, were more generally believed to proceed from the gods, than the oracles he received afterwards; and it may be added, that this relief ·and

and affiftance contributed in some measure to procure greater credit to those oracles. For first, the plentiful rains that fell, preserved them from the danger of thirst, and allaying the extreme driness of the fand, not only rendered it moist and firm, but also cleared the air, and made it fitter for respiration. Besides, when they were out of their way, and were wandering up and down, because the marks which used to direct the guides were difordered and loft, they were fet right again by fome ravens who flew before them in their march, and waited for them when they halted. But the greateft miracle of all was, that if any of the company went aftray in the night, these birds never ceased croaking and making a noife, as Callifthenes informs us, till by that means they had brought them into the right way again. Having passed through the defert, they came to the city, where the high priest welcomed Alexander from his father Ammon; and being asked by him whether any of his father's murderers had escaped punishment, he charged him to speak with more respect, for his father was not mortal. Then Alexander, changing the terms, defired to know of him, if any of those who murdered Philip were vet unpunished? and also, Whether the empire of the world was referved for him? The god answered, that he should obtain it, and that Philip's death was fully revenged. This gave him fo much fatisfaction, that he made fplendid offerings to Jupiter, and gave the priefts very rich prefents. This is what most authors write concerning the oracles; but Alexander, in a letter to his mother, tells her, there were fome fecret answers, which at his return he would communicate to her only. Others fay, that the prieft, defiring to use a kind and tender expression, and to call Alexander in the Greek tongue Paidion, which fignifies my fon, mistaking the pronunciation, used the s instead of the n, and said Paidios, or fon of Jupiter. Alexander was very well pleafed with this mistake;

was

miftake; and hence the report arose that the oracle

had called him the fon of Jupiter.

Among the fayings of one Pfammon, a philofopher, whom he converfed with in Egypt, he most approved of this, That all men are governed by God, because in every thing that which is chief and commands is divine. But what he pronounced himself upon this fubject, was more like a philosopher; for he faid, God was the common father of all, but more particularly of good men. To the Barbarians he behaved with great haughtiness, as if he were fully perfuaded of his divine original; but to the Grecians more moderately, and with less affectation of divinity; except in his letter to the Athenians concerning Samos, where he tells them they held not that free and splendid city by virtue of his gift, but from the bounty of him who at that time was called his fovereign and father, meaning Philip. However, afterwards being wounded with an arrow, and feeling much pain, he turned to those about him, and told them, that it was real blood that dropped from him, and not the ichor.

Such as th' immortal gods were went to shed.

Another time when it thundered so much that every body was afraid, and Anaxarchus the sophist asked him, If he who was Jupiter's own son could thunder too? Alexander replied laughing, I do not chuse to frighten my friends as you would have me, who despised my table for being surnished with sish, and not with the heads of governours of provinces. For it is certain, that Anaxarchus seeing a present of small sishes, which the king sent to Hephæstion, expressed himself in that manner, to ridicule those who take great pains, and run desperate hazards in pursuit of such things as are the common objects of admiration, while in reality they have little more pleasure or enjoyment than others. From what I have said upon this subject, it is apparent, that Alexander

was not so arrogantly vain as to think himself really a god, but only used this pretence that others

might more readily fubmit to him.

At his return out of Egypt into Phænicia, he facrificed and made folemn processions, to which were added choruses of dancing and the representation of tragedies. And these spectacles were remarkable both for the splendour of the furniture and ornaments, and for the zeal and contention of those who exhibited them. For the kings of Cyprus were at the charge of them, in the same manner as those persons are at Athens, who are chosen by lot out of the tribes. And indeed, they strove with wonderful emulation to outvie each other; chiefly Nicocreon king of Salamis, and Pasicrates of Soli, who were appointed to procure the most celebrated actors; and Paficrates procured Athenodorus, and Nicocreon Theffalus. Theffalus was most favoured by Alexander, though this did not appear till Athenodorus was declared victor by the plurality of fuffrages. For then, at his going away, he faid that the judges deferved to be commended for what they had done, but that he would willingly have lost part of his kingdom rather than have feen Theffalus overcome. However, when he underftood that Athenodorus was fined by the Athenians for being absent from the festival celebrated in honour of Bacchus, though he refused his request of writing in his behalf, yet he paid the fine for him. Another time Lycon of Scarphia happened to act with great applause in the theatre, and inserted a verse in his part, by which he begged ten talents of Alexander; who laughed, and gave him the money.

About this time Darius fent a letter and fome of his friends to him, befeeching him to accept of ten thousand talents as a ransom for the captives, and offering him one of his daughters in marriage, with a ceffion of all the countries on this side the Euphrates, on condition he would enter into a treaty

of friendship and alliance with him. He communicated these propositions to his friends; and when Parmenio said, If I were Alexander, I would accept them; So would I, faid the king, if I were Parmenio. His answer to Darius was, that if he would yield himself up into his power, he would treat him with all imaginable kindness; if not, he was resolved immediately to advance towards him. But the death of Darius's wife who died in childbed, made him foon after repent of this refolution; and it appeared that he was deeply concerned at being deprived of fuch an opportunity of exercising his generosity and humanity. He buried her, however, with all possible

magnificence.

Among the eunuchs who waited in the queen's chamber, and were taken prisoners with the women, there was one Tyreus, who getting out of the camp, fled away on horseback to Darius, to inform him of his wife's death; which as foon as he heard, he could not forbear beating his head, and burfting into tears with lamentable outcries: Alas, faid he, how great is the calamity of the Persians I was it not enough that their king's confort and fifter was a prifoner in her lifetime, but she must, now she is dead also, be deprived of the royal obsequies? The eunuch replied, As to her obsequies, or any other marks of honour and diftinction due to a person of her birth and dignity, you have no reason to accuse the ill fortune of your country; for to my knowledge neither your Queen Statira when alive, nor your mother, nor children, have wanted any thing of what they enjoyed in their former happy condition, except the light of your countenance, which I doubt not but the mighty Oromasdes will yet restore with greater splendour and glory than ever: neither at her death bas any thing been omitted, that could render her obsequies folemn and illustrious; but, on the contrary, they have been bonoured with the tears of your very enemies; for Alexander is as merciful after victory, as he is terrible in the field. At the hearing of these words, such was the Gg2 grief

grief and emotion of Darius's mind, that he could not help entertaining fome abfurd fuspicions. Wherefore taking Tyreus aside into a more private apartment in his tent: Unless thou likewise, faid he to him, hast deserted me together with the good fortune of Persia, and art become a Macedonian in thy beart; if thou yet bearest me any respect, and ownest me for thy sovereign, tell me, I charge thee, by the veneration thou payest to the light of Mithras, and this right hand of thy king; Do I not lament the least of Statira's misfortunes? Have I not suffered something more injurious and deplorable in ber lifetime? And had I not been miserable with less dishonour, if I had met with a more cruel and inhuman enemy? For how is it possible a young man as he is, should treat the wife of Darius with so much generosity, without passing the bounds of a virtuous conversation? Whilst he was yet speaking, Tyreus threw himself at his feet, and befought him neither to wrong Alexander so much, nor his dead wife and fifter, nor to deprive himself of the only consolation he was capable of in his adversity, the firm belief that he was overcome by a man, whose virtues raised him far above the rank of human nature; adding, that he ought to look upon Alexander with love. and admiration, who had given no less proofs of his continence towards the Persuan women, than of his valour against the men. The eunuch confirmed all he faid with dreadful oaths and imprecations, and further enlarged in the description of Alexander's moderation and magnanimity upon other occasions. Darius then returned into the next room, where before all his courtiers he lifted up his hands to heaven, and uttered this prayer: Ye gods, who preside over the birth of men and the fate of kingdoms, grant above all things that I may restore the fortune of Persia, and leave it in as flourishing a condition as I found it, and that by obtaining the victory, I may have it in my power to make some grateful returns to Alexander, for the kindness which in my adversity he has showed to those who are dearest to me. But if indeed the fatal time

time be come, which is to put a period to the Persian monarchy; if our ruin be a debt that must be inevitably paid to the divine vengeance, and the vicissitude of things; then I beseech you grant, that no other man but Alexander may sit upon the throne of Cyrus. These events and eir-

cumstances are attested by most writers.

After Alexander had reduced all Asia on this side the Euphrates, he advanced toward Darius, who was coming down against him with a million of men. In his march a very ridiculous accident happened. The fervants who followed the camp, in sport divided themselves into two parties, and named the commander of one of them Alexander, and of the other Darius. At first they only pelted one another with clods of earth, afterwards they fell to fifty-cuffs, and at last growing warm in the contention, they fought in good earnest with stones and clubs, and could not eafily be parted, till Alexander (who had been informed of the dispute) ordered the two captains to decide the quarrel by fingle combat, and armed him who bore his name himself, while Philotas did the same to the other who represented Darius. The whole army were spectators of this encounter, with minds prepared from the event to make a judgment of their own future success. After the combatants had fought resolutely for some time, he who was called Alexander had the better, and for a reward of his prowefs had twelve villages given him, with leave to clothe himself after the Persian mode. Of this incident we are informed by Eratosthenes.

The great battle that was fought with Darius, was not, as most writers tell us, at Arbela, but at Gaugamela, which in their language signifies the camel's house; for one of their ancient kings, having escaped the pursuit of his enemies on a dromedary, in gratitude to the beast, settled him at this place, with an allowance of certain villages and rents for his maintenance. In the month Boedromion, Sep-

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tember], about the beginning of the festival of the mysteries at Athens, there happened an eclipse of the moon; and the eleventh night after that, the two armies being then in view of one another, Darius kept his men in arms, and by torch-light took a general review of them. But Alexander, while his foldiers flept, spent the night before his tent with his foothfayer Aristander, performing certain fecret ceremonies, and facrificing to Fear. In the mean while the eldeft of his commanders, and chiefly Parmenio, when they beheld all the plain between the river Niphates, and the Gordyæan mountains, thining with the lights and fires which were made by the Barbarians, and heard the rude and confused voices out of their camp, the terrour and noise of which resembled the roaring of some vast ocean, they were so amazed at the thoughts of fuch a multitude, that, after some conference among themselves, they concluded it an enterprise too difficult and hazardous for them to engage fo numerous an enemy in the day-time; and therefore meeting the king as he came from facrificing, they befought him to attack Darius by night, that the darkness might conceal the horrour and danger of the ensuing battle. To this he gave them that celebrated answer, That he would not fleal a victory; which though fome may think childish and vain, as if he played with danger, yet others look upon it as an evidence that he confided in his prefent condition, and made a true judgment of the future, in not leaving Darius, in case he were worsted, so much as a pretence of trying his fortune any more; which he would certainly do, if he could impute his overthrow to the disadvantage of the night, as he did before to the mountains, the narrow passages, and the fea. For it was not to be imagined, that he, who had still such forces and large dominions left, should give over the war for want of men or arms, till he had first lost all courage and hope,

hope, by the conviction of an undeniable and manifest defeat. After they were gone, he laid himfelf down in his tent, and flept the rest of the night more foundly than usual, to the astonishment of the commanders, who came to him early in the morning, and were obliged themselves to give order that the foldiers should take a repast. But at last, there not being time to wait any longer, Parmenio went to his bedfide, and called him twice or thrice by his name till he awaked him, and then asked him, How it was possible, when he was to fight the most important battle of all, he could fleep so securely, as if he were already victorious. So I am, faid Alexander smiling, fince I am now no more put to the trouble of wandering about in pursuit of Darius, as long as he pleafes to decline fighting, in a country of so large extent, and fo wasted. And not only before the engagement, but likewise in the extremest danger of it, he showed the greatness of his courage, and the folidity of his judgment. For the left wing which Parmenio commanded was fo violently charged by the Bactrian horse, that it was disordered, and forced to give ground, at the same time that Mazzeus had fent a party round about to fall upon those who guarded the baggage; both which fo terrified Parmenio, that he fent messengers to acquaint Alexander, that the camp and baggage would be all loft, unless he immediately relieved the rear, by a confiderable reinforcement drawn out of the front. This meffage being brought him just as he had given the fignal to the right wing to charge, he bade the meffengers tell Parmenio, That he was certainly mad, and that the consternation he was in had made him forget, that if they conquered they would be masters of their enemies baggage; and that if they were defeated, instead of taking care of their wealth or flaves, they had nothing more to do, but to fight bravely and die with bonour. When he had faid this, he put on his helmet, having put on the rest of his armour before he came

out of his tent; a short coat of the Sicilian fashion girt close about him, and over that a breastplate of linen ftrongly quilted, which was taken among other booty at the battle of Iffus. The helmet which was made by Theophilus, though of iron, was fo well wrought and polished, that it was as bright as the finest filver. To this was fitted a gorget of the fame metal, fet with precious stones. His sword, which was the weapon he generally used in battle, was given him by the king of the Citieans, and was of an admirable temper and lightness. But the belt which he wore also in all engagements, was of much rieher workmanship than the rest of his armour; it was made by old Helicon, and prefented him by the Rhodians, as a mark of their respect to him. Whenever he drew up his men, or rode about to give orders, or to instruct or review them, he favoured Bucephalus by reason of his age, and made use of another horse; but when he was to fight, he fent for him, and as foon as he was mounted, the fignal to begin the fight was immediately given. After he had made a long oration to the Theffalians, and the rest of the Grecians, who encouraged him with loud shouts, desiring to be led on to the charge. he shifted his javelin into his left hand, and with his right lifted up towards heaven, befought the gods (as Callifthenes writes), that if he was indeed the fon of Jupiter, they would be pleased to affist and strengthen the Grecians. At the same time Aristander the diviner, who had a white mantle about him, and a crown of gold on his head, rode by and showed them an eagle flying over the head of Alexander, and directing his course towards the enemy. This fo animated the beholders, that, after mutual encouragements and exhortations, the horse charged at full speed, and the phalanx rushed on like a torrent. But before they could well come to blows with the first ranks, the Barbarians shrunk back, and were closely purfued by Alexander, who drove

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them before him into the middle of the battle. where Darius himself was in person, whom he saw over the foremost ranks, conspicuous in the midst of his lifeguard; for he was a tall and comely man, and drawn in a lofty chariot, defended by a great number of the best of his cavalry, who stood close in order about it, ready to receive the enemy. But Alexander's approach was fo terrible, forcing those who gave back upon fuch as still maintained their ground, that they were thrown into the utmost consternation, and soon put to flight. A few of the bravest and most resolute among them maintained their post, till they were all slain in their king's presence, and falling in heaps upon one another, strove in the very pangs of death to stop the purfuit, by clinging to the Macedonians as they fell, and catching hold of and entangling the feet of the horses when they were fallen. Darius had now nothing but terrour and destruction before his eyes. Those who had placed themselves in the front, to defend him, were broken, and forced back upon him. The wheels of his chariot were clogged, and entangled with the dead bodies, which lay in fuch heaps about them, that they not only stopped, but almost covered the horses, who began to fret and bound, and at last grew fo unruly, that the charioteer could govern them no longer. In this extremity he was glad to quit his chariot and his arms, and mounting, as they fay, upon a mare that had newly foaled, betook himself to flight. But he would not even then have escaped, if Parmenio had not fent fresh messengers to Alexander, to defire him to return, and affift him against a considerable body of the enemy which yet flood together, and would not give ground. Indeed Parmenio was on all hands accused of sloth and inactivity; whether age had impaired his courage, or whether, as Callifthenes fays, he envied and repined at his mafter's growing greatness. Alexander.

lexander, though he was not a little vexed to be fo recalled, and hindered from purfuing his victory, yet concealed the true reason from his men; and causing a retreat to be sounded, as if it were too late to continue the slaughter any longer, he marched back towards the place of danger, and by the way was informed that the enemies were totally

routed and put to flight.

This battle being thus ended, feemed to put a period to the Perfian empire; and Alexander, who was now proclaimed king of Afia, returned thanks to the gods in magnificent facrifices, and rewarded his friends and followers with money, houses, and governments of provinces. To ingratiate himfelf with the Grecians, he wrote to them, that he would have all tyrannies abolished, that they might govern themselves by their own laws; and he in particular told the Platzans, that their city should be rebuilt, because their ancestors permitted the Grecians to make their territories the feat of the war, when they fought with the Barbarians for their common liberty. He fent also part of the spoils into Italy, to the Crotoniates, to honour the zeal and courage of their citizen Phaylus the wrestler, who in the Median war, when the other Grecian colonies in Italy gave Greece for loft, and refused to affift her, that he might have a share in the danger, joined the fleet at Salamin with a vessel equipped at his own charge. Such a regard had Alexander to every kind of virtue, and so desirous was he to preferve the momory of laudable actions.

From hence he marched through the province of Babylon, which without resistance entirely submitted to him. In the country about Ecbatana, he was much surprised to see fire continually bursting like a spring out of a cleft of the earth; and not far from that a stream of naphtha, so copious as to spread into a large lake. This naphtha, in other respects resembling bitumen, is so instammable, that

before

before it touches the flame, it will take fire at the very light of it, and often kindle the intermediate air. The Barbarians, to show the power and nature of it, fprinkled the street that led to the king's lodgings with little drops of this liquor, and when it was almost night, stood at the further end with torches, which they applied to the moistened places; and these first taking fire, in a moment it caught from one end to another, in fuch a manner, that the whole street was one continued flame. Alexander had at that time in his fervice a certain Athenian named Athenophanes. He was one of those whose business it was to wait on the king, and anoint him when he bathed, and had a peculiar art of diverting him, and relaxing his mind after he had been employed in ferious affairs. One day, whilst the king was bathing, there came into the room a boy called Stephanus, who was very homely, but an excellent finger. Athenophanes feeing him, faid to the king, Sir, permit us to make an experiment of the naphtha upon this youth: for if it takes fire upon his body, I shall allow it to be powerful indeed. The youth readily confented to undergo the trial; but as foon as he was anointed with it, his whole body broke out into fuch a flame, that Alexander was exceedingly perplexed and concerned for him; and nothing could have prevented his being confumed by it, if there had not been people at hand with a great many veffels of water for the fervice of the bath, with all which they were hardly able to extinguish the fire; and his body was for fcorched with it that he long felt the bad effects of it. Those therefore who endeavour to reconcile the fable with truth, fay with great probability, that this was the drug mentioned by the poets, with which Medea anointed the crown and veil which she gave to Creon's daughter. For the things could not take fire of themselves, but upon the approach of some flame, imperceptibly attracted and caught

caught it. For the rays and emanations of fire at a distance, have no other effect upon some bodies, than merely to give them light and heat; but in others which are dry and porous, or in which there is an oily moisture, they collect themselves and foon prey upon and alter the matter. The generation or production of this naphtha is a point that has not yet been agreed upon, it being a question whether it does not rather derive its inflammable quality from the unctuous and fulphureous nature of the foil which produces it. For the ground in the province of Babylon is fo very hot, that oftentimes the grains of barley leap up, and are thrown out, as if the violent inflamation had given a pulfation to the earth. And in extreme heats, the inhabitants commonly fleep upon skins filled with water. Harpalus, who was left governour of this country, and was defirous to adorn the palace, gardens, and walks, with Grecian plants, fucceeded in the raifing of all but ivy, which the earth would not bear, but conftantly killed: for being a plant that loves a cold foil, the temper of that mold, which was violently hot, was improper for it. Such digreffions as thefe the nicest readers may endure, provided they are not too tedious.

At the taking of Susa, Alexander sound in the palace forty thousand talents in money ready coined, besides an unspeakable quantity of other treasure and furniture; amongst which was sive thousand talents worth of Hermionic purple, that had been laid up there an hundred and ninety years, and yet kept its colour as fresh and lively as at first. The reason of which, they say, is, that they used honey in dying the purple, and white oil in the white tincture; and we are told that some of this is to be seen of the same age which still preserves its original beauty and lustre. Dinon also relates, that among other things it was a custom with the kings of Persia to have water brought them from

the Nile and the Danube, and laid up in the treafury, as a proof of their extensive power and uni-

verfal empire.

The entrance into Persia being very difficult, by reason of the unevenness of the ways, and because Darius, who was retired thither, had ordered the passes to be guarded by the best of his forces, Alexander met with fuch a guide as the Pythian priestefs had prophefied of when he was a child, faying, That a Lycian should conduct him in his journey into Persia; for by fuch an one, whose father was a Lycian, and his mother a Persian, and who spoke both languages, he was led into the country by a way fomething about, yet without fetching any confiderable compass. Here a great many of the prisoners were put to the fword; of which he himfelf gives this account, that he commanded them to be killed, because he thought it would be advantageous to his affairs. Nor was his booty in money less here than at Susa; besides which he found in other moveables and treafure, as much as ten thoufand pair of mules and five thousand camels could well carry away.

In the palace, Alexander faw a large statue of Xerxes, which the foldiers, as they were prefling in, had thrown on the ground. At the fight of it he stood still, and addressing himself to it as if it was alive, Tell me, faid he; shall I pass on, and leave thee prostrate as thou art on the ground, because thou invadedst Greece, or shall I erect thee again in consideration of the greatness of thy mind and thy other virtues? At last, after he had paused a considerable time, he went on, without taking any further notice of it. In this place he took up his winter-quarters, and staid four months to refresh his foldiers. It is faid that the first time he sat on the royal throne of Perfia under a canopy of gold, Demaratus the Corinthian, who had a great affection for Alexander, and had been one of his father's friends, wept, like

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an old man, and deplored the misfortune of those Grecians who had fallen in the wars, and been deprived by death of the satisfaction of seeing Alexander placed on the

throne of Darius.

Before he fet out from hence to march against Darius, he gave an entertainment to his friends, where he indulged in drinking and mirth, and even fuffered every one's mistress to share in the entertainment. The most celebrated of them was Thais an Athenian, mistress to Ptolemy who was afterwards king of Egypt. She fometimes cunningly praised Alexander, and sometimes jested with him, and all the while drank fo freely, that at last she began to talk extravagantly, and faid things which, though fuitable to the country where she was born, were much above her character and condition. She faid, she was abundantly rewarded for the pains she had taken in travelling all over Asia, since that day she could insult over the stately palace of the Persian monarchs: but she added, it would please her much better, if, while the king looked on, she might in sport, with her own hands, fet fire to Xerxes's court, who reduced the city of Athens to ashes; that it might be recorded to posterity, that the women who followed Alexander had taken a sharper revenge on the Persians, for the sufferings and affronts of Greece, than all her commanders had done in their several engagements by sea and land. What she said was received with such universal approbation and loud applause, and so seconded by the zeal and eagerness of the company, that the king himfelf, being prevailed upon, flarted from his feat, and with a chaplet of flowers on his head, and a lighted torch in his hand, led the way, while they, following in a riotous manner with dancing and shouting, surrounded the palace. When the rest of the Macedonians perceived what they were about, they also joyfully ran thither with their torches; for they hoped the burning and destruction of the royal palace was an argument that he looked

looked homeward, and had no defign to refide among the Barbarians. Thus fome writers relate this action; others fay it was done deliberately; however, all agree that he foon repented of it, and

gave orders to have the fire extinguished.

Alexander was naturally very munificent, and grew more fo as his fortune increased; and his liberality was accompanied with that courtefy and kindness which is absolutely necessary to make a benefit really obliging. I will mention a few inftances of this kind. Aristo, the captain of the Pæonians, having killed an enemy, brought his head to him, and told him, That among them fuch a prefent was recompensed with a cup of gold. With an empty one, faid Alexander smiling, but I drink to you in this full of wine, and give it you. Another time, as one of the common foldiers was driving a mule laden with some of the king's treasure, the beast tired, fo that he was forced to take it on his own back, and with much ado marched with it a good way, till Alexander feeing him fo overcharged, asked what was the matter; and when he was informed, just as the man was ready to lay down his burden for weariness, Do not faint now, said he to him, but keep on the rest of thy way, and carry what thou hast on thy back to thy own tent for thy own use. He was always more displeased with those who would not accept of his presents, than with those who begged them of him. And therefore he wrote to Phocion, That he would not look upon him as. his friend any longer, if he refused to accept of what he had fent him. Nor would he ever give any thing to Serapion, one of the youths that used to play at ball with him, because he did not ask of him; till, one day as they were playing, Serapion continually threw the ball to others, and when the king asked him, Why he did not direct it to him? he answered, Because you did not ask it; the king laughed at the reply, and was very liberal to him afterwards. H h 2

afterwards. One Proteas, a pleafant facetious man. and a good table-companion, having incurred his displeasure, defired his friends to intercede for him, and begged pardon himfelf with tears; upon which Alexander declared he was reconciled to him. I cannot believe it, Sir, faid Proteas, unless you first give. me some pledge of your reconciliation. The king prefently ordered him five talents. How generous he was in enriching his friends, and those who attended on his person, appears by a letter which Olympias wrote to him, where she fays, I do not blame you for rewarding your friends and displaying your munificence; but you make them all equal to kings, you give them power and opportunity to improve their own interest, and make many friends, and in the mean time do not confider, that you leave yourfelf bare and destitute. often wrote to him to this purpose; and he never communicated her letters to any body, unless it were one which he opened when Hephæstion was by, whom he permitted to read it along with him; but then, as foon as he had done, he took off his ring, and put the feal upon Hephæstion's lips, thereby recommending fecrecy to him. Mazeus, who was the most considerable man in Darius's court, had a fon who was already governour of a province; Alexander offered to join another to it, which was more profitable; but he modeftly refused it, and withal told him, that instead of one Darius, be would make many Alexanders. To Parmenio he gave Bagoas's house, in which he found a wardrobe of apparel worth more than a thousand talents. He wrote to Antipater, commanding him to keep a lifeguard about him, for the fecurity of his person against conspiracies. To his mother he sent many prefents, but would never fuffer her to meddle with affairs of state or war; and when she was displeased with him upon this account, he bore her ill humour very patiently. And once, when he had read a long letter from Antipater, full of accusations

tions against her, he said, Antipater seems not to know that one tear of a mother effaces a thousand such letters as

thefe.

But when he perceived his favourites grow fo luxurious and extravagant in their way of living, that Agnon the Teian wore filver nails in his shoes; that Leonatus employed feveral camels only to bring him powder out of Egypt to use when he wrestled;, and that Philotas had toils to take wild beafts, that reached an hundred furlongs in length; that more used precious ointments than plain oil when they went to bathe, and that they had fervants every where with them, to rub them and wait upon them. in their chambers; he reproved them like a philofopher with great mildness and discretion, telling, them, He wondered that they who had been engaged in so many signal battles, should not know by experience, that labour and industry made people sleep more sweetly and foundly than laziness; and that if they compared the Persian manner of living with their own, they would be conwinced it was the most abject, slavish condition in the world to be effeminate and voluptuous, and that nothing was more noble and princely than labour. He asked. them besides, How it was possible for any one either to take care of his borfe, or to keep his armour bright and in good order, who thought much to let his hands be ferviceable to what was dearest to him, his own body? Are you still to learn, said he, that the end and perfection of our victories is to avoid the vices and infirmities of those whom we have subdued? And to strengthen his precepts by example, he exposed himself now more than ever to the fatigues of hunting and war, readily embracing all opportunities of hardship and danger; infomuch that a Spartan ambaffador, who one day chanced to be by when he encountered and mastered a huge lion, said, Royalty, Sir, bas been the prize, and you have fought bravely for it with the lion. Craterus dedicated in the temple of Apollo at Delphi a representation of this adventure in Hh3 atandamani.

brass; the figures of which it consisted were the lion and the dogs, the king engaged with the lion, and himself coming in to his affistance; some of which were made by Lysippus, and the rest by Leochares. In this manner did Alexander expose his person to danger, both inuring himself, and inciting others to the performance of brave and virtuous actions.

But his followers, who were now become rich and proud, longed to indulge themselves in pleafure and idleness, and grew weary of marching from place to place, and of undergoing the toils of war: nay, they by degrees proceeded so far as to censure and reproach him. This at first he bore very patiently, faying, It became a king to do well, and to be ill spoken of. And indeed his behaviour to his friends even on flight and common occasions was a continual proof of real kindness and respect. Of this I shall mention a few instances. Hearing that Peuceftas had been bitten by a bear, he wrote to him, That he took it unkindly, that he should send others notice of it, and not make him acquainted with it; but now, faid he, fince it is fo, let me know how you do, and whether any of your companions for fook you when you were in danger, that I may punish them? He fent word to Hephæstion, who was absent about some business, That while they were diverting themselves with hunting an ichneumon, Craterus was by chance run through both thighs with Perdiccas's javelin. Upon Peucestas's recovery from a fit of fickness, he fent a letter of thanks to his physician Alexippus. When Craterus was ill, he faw a vision in his sleep, after which he offered facrifices for his health, and commanded him to do fo likewife. He wrote also to Pausanias the physician, who was about to purge Craterus with hellebore, partly to express his anxious concern for him, and partly to give him a caution how he used that medicine. He imprisoned Ephialtes and Ciffus, who brought him the first news of Harpalus's

Harpalus's flight, and defertion from his fervice, as if they had falfely accused him. When he fent the old and infirm foldiers home, Eurylochus the Ægean got his name inrolled among the fick, though he ailed nothing; which being discovered, he confessed he was in love with a woman named Telesippa, and was defirous to go along with her to the feafide. Alexander inquired, To whom the woman belonged? and being told, She was a courtexan, but of liberal birth: I will affift you, faid he to Eurylochus, all I can in your amour, if your mistress be to be gained either by presents or persuasions; but we must use no other means, because she is free-born. It is surprising to confider, upon what flight occasions he would write letters to serve his friends. As when he wrote one, in which he gave orders to fearch for a youth that belonged to Seleucus, who was run away into Cilicia. In another, he thanked and commended Peucestas, for apprehending Nicon, a fervant of Craterus. And to Megabyfus, concerning a flave that had taken fanctuary in a temple, he wrote, that he should not meddle with him while he was

there; but if he could entice him out by fair means, then he gave him leave to feize him. It is reported of him, that when he first fat in judgment upon capital causes, he would lay his hand upon one of his ears, while the accuser spoke, to keep it free and unprejudiced in behalf of the party accused. But afterwards a multitude of accusations being brought before him, and many of them proving true, this exasperated him so much, that he gave credit to those also that were false; and especially when any one spoke ill of him, he would be so extravagantly transported, that he became cruel and inexorable; for he valued his glory and reputation far beyond either his life or kingdom.

He now marched in pursuit of Darius, expecting to hazard another battle. But hearing that he was taken, and secured by Bessus, he sent home the

Theffalians,

Theffalians, and gave them a largefs of two thoufand talents, over and above the pay that was due to them. This long and painful pursuit of Darius (for in eleven days he marched three thousand three hundred furlongs) haraffed his foldiers fo, that most of them were ready to faint, chiefly for want of water. While they were in this diffress, it happened, that fome Macedonians, who had fetched water in Ikins upon their mules from a river they had found out, came about noon to the place where Alexander was, and feeing him almost choaked with thirst, presently filled an helmet, and offered it to him. He asked them to whom they were carrying the water; they told him to their children; but, faid they, if your live is preserved, it is no matter for our children; if we lose them, we can get more. Then he took the helmet into his hands, and looking round about, when he faw all those who were near him stretching their heads out, and earnestly eying the drink, he returned it again with thanks, without tafting a drop of it: For, faid he, if I only (bould drink, the reft will be quite out of heart and faint. The foldiers no fooner faw his temperance and magnanimity upon this occasion, but they all cried out to him to lead them on boldly, and whipped their horses to make them mend their pace; for whill they had fuch a king, they faid, they defied both weariness and thirst, and looked upon themselves to be little less than immortal. But though they were all equally cheerful and willing, yet not above fixty horse were able to keep up, and fall in with Alexander upon the enemy's camp; where riding over abundance of gold and filver that lay scattered about, and paffing by a great many chariots full of children and women, that wandered here and there for want of drivers, they endeavoured to overtake the first of those that fled, in hopes to meet with Darius among them. At last with great difficulty they found him lying along in a chariot, all over wound-

ed with darts, and just at the point of death. However, he defired they would give him fome drink; and when he had drank a little cold water; he faid to Polystratus who gave it him, My friend, this completes my misery, to receive a favour, and not be able to return it. But Alexander will reward thee; and the gods will reward him for his kindness to my mother, my wife, and my children. Tell him therefore that, in token of my acknowledgment, I give him this right hand: at which words he took hold of Polystratus's hand, and immediately expired. When Alexander came up to them, he was fenfibly touched at the unfortunate end of fo great a man, and pulling off his own coat, threw it upon the body to cover it. As foon as Bessus was taken, he ordered him to be torn in pieces in this manner. They fastened him to a couple of tall straight trees, which were bent down fo as to meet, and then being let loofe, with a great force returned to their places, each of them carrying that part of the body along with it that was tied to it. Darius's body was fent to his mother with all the pomp fuitable to his quality. Alexander received his brother Oxathres into the number of his most intimate friends.

And now with the flower of his army he marched down into Hyrcania, where he faw a gulf of the fea, not much less than the Euxine, and found its water sweeter than that of other seas; but he could learn nothing of certainty concerning it, only he conjectured that it might be produced by the overflowing of the lake Mæotis, or at least might have a communication with it. However the naturalists, better informed of the truth, give us this account of it many years before Alexander's expedition; that of four gulfs which out of the main fea enter into the continent, this is the most northern, and is known by the name both of the Hyrcanian and Caspian sea. Here the Barbarians unexpectedly meeting with those who led Bucephalus, took them prisoners, risoners, and carried the horse away with them; which Alexander was so offended at, that he sent an herald to let them know, he would put them all to the sword, men, women, and children, without mercy, if they did not restore him. Upon this they immediately obeyed, and at the same time surrendered their cities into his hands. He treated them all very kindly, and paid a considerable ran-

fom for his horse to those who took him.

From hence he marched into Parthia, where not having much to do, he first put on the barbaric habit; which compliance perhaps he used in order to civilize the inhabitants; for nothing gains more upon men, than a conformity to their fashions and customs; or it may be he did it to try whether the Macedonians would be brought to adore him, (as the Persians did their kings), by accustoming them by little and little to bear with the alteration of his discipline and course of life in other things. However he did not altogether follow the Median fathion, which was barbarous and uncouth; for he wore neither their breeches, nor their long veft, nor their tiara for the head; but taking a middle way between the Persian mode and the Median, he so contrived his habit, that it was not so stately as the one, and yet more magnificent than the other. At first he wore this habit only when he had business to transact with the Barbarians, or within doors among his intimate friends and companions; but afterwards he appeared in it abroad, and at public audiences. This was a very unpleafing fight to the Macedonians; but they were fo charmed with his other virtues and good qualities, that they could not but think it reasonable in some things to gratify his humour and indulge his vanity. For, beside his other adventures, he had lately been wounded in the leg by an arrow, which had fo shattered the bone, that splinters were taken out. And another time he received fuch a violent blow with

with a stone upon the nape of the neck, as dimmed his fight for a good while afterwards. But all this could not hinder him from exposing himself to the greatest dangers, without any regard to his person; fo that he passed the river Orexartes, which he took to be the Tanais, and putting the Scythians to flight, purfued them an hundred furlongs, though at the fame time he had a violent flux upon him. Here many affirm, that the Amazonian queen came to visit him: so Clitarchus, Polycritus, Onesicritus, Antigenes, and Ister report. But Aristobulus, Chares of Theangela, Ptolemy, Anticlides, Philo the Theban, Philip of Theangela, Hecatæus the Eretrian, Philip the Chalcidian, and Duris the Samian fay, it is wholly a fiction. And indeed Alexander himself seems to confirm their opinion; for in a letter in which he gaves Antipater an exact account of every event, he tells him that the king of Scythia offered him his daughter in marriage, but makes no mention at all of the Amazon. And many years after, when Onesicritus read this story in his fourth book to Lysimachus, who was then king, he with a fmile asked, Where was I at that time? But as for this particular, they who believe it will not have a greater veneration for Alexander, and they who reject it will not esteem him the lefs.

Apprehending that the Macedonians, grown weary of the war, would not have the courage or patience to accompany him any further in his expedition, he left the gross of his army behind him in their quarters, and taking with him the choicest of his forces, to the number of twenty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, he marched with them into Hyrcania, where he told them, That hitherto the Barbarians had seen them only as in a dream; and if they should think of returning when they had only alarmed Asia, and not conquered it, those Barbarians would fall upon them, and destroy them like so many women: that however

however he gave to fuch as defired it liberty to return; but withal protested against every one who should defert him and his friends, and those who were willing to fight under him still, while he was bringing the whole world under Subjection to the Macedonians. This is almost word for word the fame with what he wrote in a letter to Antipater, where he adds, That when he had thus spoken to them, they all cried out, they would go along with him, where-ever it was his pleasure to lead them. When he had in this manner gained them, it was no hard matter for him to bring over the rest of the army, which readily followed their example. From this time he more and more endeavoured to accommodate himself in his way of living to the customs of the Barbarians, which he likewise endeavoured to blend with the customs of the Macedonians, in hopes that this mixture and communication would produce a mutual friendship, by which his authority would be better maintained during his absence, than it would be by mere force. In order to this, he chose out thirty thousand boys, to whom he allowed masters to teach them the Greek tongue, and to train them up to arms according to the Macedonian discipline. As for his marriage with Roxana, that was purely the effect of love. For having accidentally feen her at a feaft, he was charmed with her beauty. Nor was his love in the least prejudicial to his interest, considering the situation of his affairs at that time. For this alliance with the Barbarians made them confide in him, and love him more than ever, when they faw how continent he was, and that he abstained from the only woman he ever was in love with, till he could enjoy her in a lawful and honourable way.

When he perceived that of his two chief friends and favourites, Hephæstion approved of the customs he had newly taken up, and imitated him in his habit, while Craterus continued strict in the obfervation of the customs and fashions of his own coun-

try, he employed the first in all transactions with the Barbarians, and the latter when he had to do with the Greeks or Macedonians. And the truth is, he had a greater love for the one, and a higher efteem for the other, being perfuaded, as he always faid, that Hephæstion loved Alexander, and Craterus the king. This occasioned a misunderstanding between them, fo that they often quarrelled; and once in India they drew their fwords, and were going to fight, with their friends on each fide to fecond them, till Alexander came up to them, and publicly reproached Hephæstion, telling him he was a fool and madman, not to be fensible that without his favour he was nothing. He chid Craterus also in private very feverely, and then causing them both to come into his prefence, he reconciled them, at the fame time fwearing by Jupiter Ammon, and the rest of the gods, that he loved them above all other men; but that if ever he perceived them fall out again, he would put both of them to death, or at least the aggressor. After which, they neither ever did, or faid any thing, fo much as in jest, to offend one another.

None had more authority among the Macedonians than Philotas, the fon of Parmenio: for befides that he was valiant, and indefatigable in war, he was also, next to Alexander himself, the most munificent, and most kind to his friends; one of whom asking him for some money, he commanded his steward to give it him; and when he told him, he had none, Have you no plate then, faid he, or cloaths of mine? But he was extremely proud and infolent by reason of his wealth, and more delicate and expensive about his person and diet than became a private man; and that air of dignity and grandeur which he affumed, far from being graceful and engaging, appeared awkward and extravagant, and exposed him to general suspicion and ill-will; so that Parmenio would sometimes fay to him, My for,

I i

be less. He had for a considerable time before been complained of to Alexander: for when Darius was defeated in Cilicia, and an immense booty was taken at Damascus, among the rest of the prisoners who were brought into the camp there was one Antigone of Pydna, a very handsome woman, who fell to Philotas's share. The young man one day in his cups, like an arrogant bragging foldier, told his mistress, That all the great actions were performed by bim and his father, and that the stripling Alexander enjoyed the title of king by their means. She discovered what she had heard to one of her acquaintance, and he, as is usual in such cases, to another, till at last it came to Craterus, who introduced her privately to the king. When Alexander had heard what the had to fay, he commanded her to continue her intrigue with Philotas, and to give him an account from time to time of what he faid. Philotas being thus inadvertently taken in the fnare, fometimes from refentment, and fometimes from vanity, uttered many indifcreet expressions against the king in Antigone's hearing; of which though Alexander was informed, and convinced by strong evidence, yet he took no notice of it at first; whether he confided in Parmenio's affection and loyalty, or whether he feared their authority and interest in the army. About this time one Limnus, a Macedonian, a native of Chalæstra, conspired against Alexander's life, and communicated his defign to a youth whom he loved, named Nicomachus, inviting him to be of the confederacy. But he rejected the propofal, and revealed it to his brother Cebalinus, who immediately went to Philotas, requiring him to introduce them both to Alexander, to whom they had fomething of great moment to impart, and which very nearly concerned him. Philotas, for what reafon is uncertain, refused to introduce them as they had defired, pretending the king was taken up with affairs of more importance. And when they had urged

urged him a fecond time, and were fill flighted by him, they applied to Metro; by whose means being admitted into Alexander's presence, they first laid open Limnus's conspiracy, and then as by the by represented Philotas's negligence, who had taken fo little notice of their repeated solicitations. Alexander was extremely exasperated at this neglect in Philotas; but when he came to understand, that the person who had been fent to apprehend Limhus had killed him, because he had put himself upon his defence, and chofe rather to be flain than taken, he was still more concerned, for he conceived the death of that traitor had deprived him of the means of making a full discovery of the plot. As foon as his difpleafure against Philotas began to appear, prefently all his old enemies showed themselves, and faid openly, The king was too easily impofed on, to imagine, that one fo inconsiderable as Limnus the Chalastrian, should of himself undertake, such an enterprise; that he was but subservient to the design, an instrument that was moved by some greater power; that those ought to be more strictly examined about the conspiracy, whose interest it so much was to conceal it. When the king began to liften to these discourses and fuspicions, they loaded Philotas daily with innumerable accufations; fo that at last he was seized, and put to the torture in the presence of the principal officers, Alexander himself being placed behind the tapestry, to hear what passed. When he heard in what a miferable tone, and with what abject fubmissions Philotas applied himself to Hephæstion, he cried out, Couldst thou, Philotas, effeminate and meanspirited as thou art, couldst thou engage in so bold and hazardous an enterprise? After his death, he presently fent orders into Media, to put Parmenio to death, a man who had a great share in the exploits of Philip, and who was the only one, or at least the chief, among his old friends and counfellors, who had encouraged Alexander to invade Asia. Of three sons Ii2

whom he had in the army, he had already lost two, and now was himself put to death with the third. These actions rendered Alexander formidable to many of his friends, and chiefly to Antipater, who thereupon, to strengthen himself, sent ambassadors privately to the Ætolians, to conclude an alliance with them; for they stood in fear of Alexander, because they had destroyed the city of the Œniades, of which when he was informed, he said, The children of the Oeniades need not revenge their fathers quarrel, for he would himself take care to punish the Ætolians.

Not long after this happened the death of Clitus, which, to those who barely hear the fact, may feem a proof of greater inhumanity than that of Philotas. But if we reflect on the time, causes, and circumstances of the action, we shall think that it was rather an unfortunate accident than a deliberate crime, and that the rage and drunkenness of Alexander only furnished an occasion to the evil genius. of Clitus to accomplish his destruction. It happened in the following manner. The king had a prefent of Grecian fruit brought him from the feacoast, which was so very fresh and beautiful, that he was surprised at it, and fent for Clitus to show it him, and to give him a share of it. Clitus was then facrificing, but he immediately left off and went to wait on the king, followed by three of the fheep, on whom the drink-offering had been already poured, in order for the facrifice. Alexander, being informed of this accident, confulted his two diviners, Aristander and Cleomantis the Spartan. They affuring him that it was an ill omen, he commanded them in all hafte to offer facrifices for Clitus's fafety, he himfelf having feen three days before a strange vision in his sleep, of Clitus all in mourning, fitting by Parmenio's fons who were all dead. Clitus however staid not to finish his facrifice, but came immediately to fup with the king,

who the fame day had facrificed to Castor and Pollux. When they had drank pretty hard, one of the company began to fing some verses of one Pranichus, or, as others fay, of Pierion, which were made upon those captains who had been lately worsted by the Barbarians, on purpose to disgrace and turn them to ridicule. This fo offended the grave old men, that they condemned both the author and the finger of the verses, though Alexander and his gay companions were mightily pleafed to hear them, and encouraged the finger to proceed. At last, Clitus, who had drank too much, and who was befides of a froward obstinate temper, was fo provoked that he cried out, It was not well done. thus to expose the Macedonians before Barbarians and enemics, fince, though it was their unhappiness to be overcome, yet they were much better men than those who laughed at them. To this Alexander replied, That fare Clitus spoke so tenderly of cowardice, and called it misfortune only to excuse himself: at which Clitus starting up, This cowardice, as you are pleased to term it, said he to him, faved your life, though you pretend to be fprung from the gods, when you were running away from Spithridates's sword; and it is by the expense of Macedonian blood, and by these wounds, that you are now raised to such an height, as to despise and disown your father Philip, and adopt yourfelf the fon of Jupiter Ammon. Thou villain, faid Alexander, who was now thoroughly exasperated, dost thou think to utter these things every where of me, and stir up the Macedonians to sedition, and not be punished for it? We are sufficiently punished already, answered Clitus, if this be the recompense of our toils; and esteem those bappiest. who have not lived to fee their countrymen ignominiously scourged with Median rods, and forced to sue to the Persians to have access to their king. While Clitus talked thus rashly, and the king in the bitterest manner retorted upon him, the old men that were in the company endeavoured all they could to I i. 3 allay

allay the flame. Alexander then turning to Xenodochus the Cardian, and Artemius the Colophonian, asked them, If they were not of opinion, that the rest of the Grecians behaved among the Macedonians, like fo many demigods among favages? All this would not filence Clitus; who calling aloud to Alexander, bid him, if he had any thing to fay, to fpeak out; elfe why did he invite men who were free-born, and used to speak their minds openly without restraint, to sup with him, and not rather live and converse with Barbarians, and conquered flaves, who would not scruple to adore his Persian girdle, and white tunic? Alexander not being able to suppress his anger any longer, took one of the apples that lay upon the table, and flung it at him, and then looked about for his fword. Aristophanes, one of his lifeguard, had hid that out of the way, and others came about him, and befought him to restrain his fury, but in vain; for breaking from them, he called out aloud to his guards in the Macedonian language, (which was a fignal of fome great tumult), and commanded the trumpeter to found, giving him a blow with his fift for delaying, or rather refusing to obey him; though afterwards the fame man was commended for difebeying an order, which would have put the whole army into confusion. Clitus continued still in the faine quarrelfome humour, till his friends with much ado forced him out of the room; but he came in again immediately at another door, and infolently fung this passage out of Euripides's Andromache,

## Gods! what ill customs are receiv'd in Greece?

Then Alexander fnatching a fpear from one of the foldiers, met Clitus as he was putting by the curtain that hung before the door, and ran him through the body. He fell immediately, and after a few loud groans expired. In that very instant the king's indignation cooled, and he came perfectly

feetly to himself; but when he saw his friends about him all in a profound silence, as seized with horrour at the fact, he pulled the spear out of the dead body, and would have turned it against himfelf, if the guards had not held his hands, and by

force carried him away into his chamber.

He fpent all that night and the day following in the bitterest grief, till being quite wasted with weeping and lamenting, he threw himself on the floor, where he lay speechless; only now and then a deep figh broke from him. His friends apprehending fome dangerous consequence of this filence, forcibly entered the room; but he took no notice of what any of them faid to him to comfort him. till Aristander put him in mind of the vision he had feen concerning Clitus, and the prodigy that tollowed, which showed that the event was predetermined by fate. At this he feemed to moderate his grief. Then they brought to him Callifthenes the philosopher, who was nearly related to Ariftotle, and Anaxarchus of Abdera. Callifthenes gently foothed him, and combated his forrow with tenderness and caution, endeavouring to cure the distemper without putting the patient to pain. But Anaxarchus, who was always fingular in his method of philosophy, and was thought to flight all his companions, as foon as he came in cried out aloud, Is this Alexander whom the world looks upon with such admiration? Behold him extended on the ground and weeping like an abject slave for fear of the laws and censures of men, to whom he himself ought to be a law. and the measure of equity; since he conquered for no other end but to make himself lord of all, and not to be a slave to a vain idle opinion. Do not you know, continued he, addressing himself to Alexander, that Jupiter is represented sitting on his throne with Themis on one side, and Justice on the other, intimating thereby that let a Sovereign prince do what he will, all his actions are just and lawful? With these and the like arguments Anaxarchus

glasur stars

Anaxarchus indeed allayed the king's grief, but withal corrupted his manners, rendering him more dissolute and violent than he was before. Nor did he fail by these means to infinuate himself into his favour, and to make Callisthenes's conversation, which otherwise, because of his austerity, was not very pleasing, extremely uneasy and disagreeable to him.

It is faid that these two philosophers being at an entertainment, where the company discoursed of the feafons of the year, and the temperature of the air, Callifthenes joined with their opinion, who held that the cold was more fevere in those countries than in Greece; this Anaxarchus would by no means allow, but maintained the contrary with great obstinacy. Sure, said Callisthenes to him, you must confess this country to be colder than Greece; for there you had but one threadbare cloak to keep out the coldest winter, and here you cannot fo much as fit at table without three good warm mantles one over another. This piece of raillery exceedingly exasperated Anaxarchus. But Callisthenes was likewise hated by the other fophists and flatterers, who could not endure to fee him fo beloved and followed by the youth for the fake of his eloquence, and no less esteemed by the old men for his virtuous life, his modesty, gravity, and contented disposition; all which confirmed the account he gave of his defign in following Alexander, that it was only to get his countrymen recalled from banishment, and to rebuild and repeople his native city. Befide the envy which his great reputation raifed, he also by his own deportment exposed himself to the censures of his enemies. For when he was invited to entertainments, he would refuse to come; or if he came, by his moroseness and filence he seemed to show a disapprobation of every thing that was faid or done; which made Alexander fay of him,

The sophist's wisdom I despise, Who for himself is never wise.

Being with many more invited to sup with the king, he was commanded to make an oration, while they were drinking, in praise of the Macedonians; and he did it with such eloquence, that all who heard it exceedingly applauded him, and threw their garlands upon him; only Alexander told him in the words of Euripides,

On noble themes 'tis easy to excel.

Therefore, said he, if you will show the force of your eloquence, tell my Macedonians their faults, that by hearing them they may learn to be better for the future. Callisthenes presently obeyed him, and retracting all he had said before, inveighed against the Macedonians with great freedom, adding, That Philip thrived, and grew powerful, chiefly by the discord of the Grecians; applying these verses to him,

Where-ever discord and sedition reign, The worst of men the greatest honour gain.

Which so disobliged the Macedonians, that he was odious to them ever after. And Alexander said, That Callisthenes had not on that occasion so much shown his eloquence, as his malignity and ill-will to the Macedonians. Hermippus affures us, that one Stroibus, a servant whom Callisthenes kept to read to him, told these things afterwards to Aristotle. He adds, that when Callisthenes perceived the king grow more and more averse to him, he repeated this verse of Homer two or three times to him, as he was going away:

Patroclus, far thy better, is no more. book ad it as

Not without reason therefore did Aristotle give this character of Callisthenes, That he was indeed an excellent orator, but had no judgment. For though he acted

acted bravely and becoming a philosopher in refusing to worship the king, and in declaring publicly against that which the best and gravest of the Macedonians only repined at in fecret, by which he put a stop to their base adoration, and delivered the Grecians from great infamy, and Alexander himself from still greater; yet he ruined himself by it, because he proceeded with too much roughness, as if he would have forced the king to that which he should have effected by reason and persuasion. Chares of Mitylene writes, that, at a banquet, Alexander after he had drank reached the cup to one of his friends, who receiving it, rose up, and turning towards the hearth. where stood the altar facred to the domestic deities, he drank, proftrated himfelf before Alexander, then kiffed him, and afterwards fat down at the table with the rest. This they all did one after another, till it came to Callifthenes's turn, who taking the cup, drank it off, (the king, who was engaged in discourse with Hephæstion, not minding him) and then offered to kis him. But Demetrius. firnamed Pheido, interposed, faying, Sir, by no means let him kifs you, for he only of us all has refused to adore you; upon which the king declined it; and all that Callifthenes faid, was, Then I go away with a kis less then the rest. This began to give the king an aversion to him, which was improved by many concurring circumstances. In the first place, Hephiestion was easily believed when he declared that he had broke his word with him, having given him his prothife to pay the king the fame adoration that others did. Beside this, Lysimachus and Agnon added, that this fophist went about priding himself, as if he stood in the gap against arbitrary power, and that the young men all ran after him, and honoured him as the only man among fo many thoufands, who had the courage to preferve his liberty. Therefore when Hermolaus's conspiracy came to

be discovered, the crimes which Callisthenes's enemies laid to his charge were the more eafily believed; particularly that when the young man asked him, What be foould do to be the most illustrious person on earth, he told him, The readiest way was to kill him who was fo at present; and that to incite him to commit the fact, he bid him, not be awed by the golden canopy, but to remember that Alexander was a man equally infirm and vulnerable with another. However none of Hermolaus's accomplices, in the extremity of their torments, made any mention of Callifthenes's being engaged in the defign. Nay Alexander himself, in the letters which he wrote soon after to Craterus, Attalus, and Alcetas, tells them, that those who were put to the rack, confessed they had entered into the conspiracy wholly of themselves, and that no others were privy to it. But yet afterwards, in a letter to Antipater, he accuses Callifthenes of that crime. The young men, fays he, were floned to death by the Macedonians; but for the fopbift, I will take care to punish him, and them too who sent him to me, who harbour those in their cities who conspire against my life. By which expressions it appears he had no very good opinion of Aristotle, by whom Callifthenes was educated on account of his relation to him, being the fon of his niece Hero. His death is variously related: some fay he was hanged by Alexander's command; others, that he died of fickness in prison; but Chares writes, that he was kept in chains feven months after he was apprehended, on purpose that he might be proceeded against in full council, when Aristotle should be present; and that he died of excessive fat and of the loufy difease, about the time that Alexander was wounded in the country of the Malli Oxydracæ. But this happened afterwards.

In the mean time Demaratus of Corinth, an old man, was very defirous to travel into Afia to visit Alexander; and when he had seen him, he said,

He pitied the misfortune of those Grecians who died before they had beheld Alexander seated on the throne of Darius. But he did not long enjoy the effects of the
king's bounty; for soon after he fell sick and died.
He had a magnificent funeral, and the army raised
him a monument of earth eighty cubits high, and
of a vast circumference. His ashes were conveyed
in a very rich chariot drawn by four horses to the
sea-side.

Alexander being now intent upon his expedition into India, took notice, that his foldiers were fo charged with booty, that it hindered their marching; to remedy which, at break of day, as foon as the baggage-waggons were laden, he first fet fire to his own and those of his friends, and then commanded those to be burnt which belonged to the rest of the army. An action which in the delibera. tion feemed more dangerous and difficult than it proved in the execution; for few were diffatisfied with it; on the contrary, most of them, as if infoired with an enthufiaftic zeal, having furnished one another with what was absolutely necessary, with loud shouts and outcries burnt and destroyed all that was superfluous: the fight of which redoubled Alexander's vigour and alacrity.

He was now grown very severe and inexorable in punishing those who committed any fault; for he put Menander one of his friends to death, for deserting a fortress, where he had placed him in garrison; and shot Orsodates, one of the Barbarians who had revolted from him, with his own hand. At this time a sheep happened to yean a lamb, with the perfect shape and colour of a tiara upon the head, and testicles on each side; which prodigy so shocked Alexander, that he immediately caused his Babylonian priests, whom he usually carried about with him for such purposes, to purify him, and told his friends, that he was not so much concerned for his own sake, as for theirs, out of an appre-

hension that the gods after his death might suffer his empire to fall into the hands of some degenerate, unworthy person. But this fear was soon removed by another prodigy that happened not long after, and was thought to presage better. For Proxenus, a Macedonian, chief of those who had the care of the king's equipage, as he was digging near the river Oxus, to fet up the royal pavilion, discovered a foring of gress oily liquor; and after the top was drawn off, there iffued out pure clear oil, not differing in tafte or fmell from real oil, and having exactly the fame finoothness and brightness, though no olive-trees grew in that country. The water indeed of the river Oxus is faid to be fo fat, that it leaves a gloss on their skins who bathe themselves in it. Whatever might be the cause, it is certain that Alexander was wonderfully pleafed with it, as appears by his letters to Antipater, where he tells him, that he looked upon it as one of the most confiderable prefages that the gods had ever favoured him with. The diviners told him, it fignified his expedition would be glorious in the event, but very painful, and attended with many difficulties; for oil, they faid, was bestowed on mankind by God as a refreshment after their labours. Nor did they judge amiss; for he exposed himself to many hazards in the battles which he fought, and received very deep and dangerous wounds; befides, his army fuffered extremely from the unwholefomeness of the air, and the want of necessary provisions. But he still laboured to furmount fortune by his resolution, and to supply by virtue what he wanted in strength, being perfuaded that nothing was infuperable to the brave, and nothing fecure to the ti-Therefore when he befieged Sisimethres on an inaccessible, impregnable rock, and his foldiers began to despair of taking it, he asked Oxyartes, Whether Siftmethres was a man of courage? He affured him, he was the greatest coward in the world.

Then you tell me, faid he, that the place is our own, if the commander of it be a coward. And in a little time he fo intimidated Sisimethres, that he took it without any difficulty. At an attack which he made upon fuch another steep place with some of the youngest of his Macedonian foldiers, he called to one whose name was Alexander, and told him, It would become him to behave gallantly for the fake of his The youth fought bravely, and was killed in the action, at which the king was fenfibly afflicted. Another time, feeing his men march flowly and unwillingly to the fiege of a place called Nyfa, because of a deep river between them and the town, he advanced before them, and standing upon the bank, What a miserable man, faid he, am I, that I have not learned to fwim? and then was hardly diffuaded from endeavouring to pass it with his shield in his hand. Once having founded a retreat when he was fighting before the walls of a town to which he had laid fiege, the befieged fent their ambaffadors, with offers to furrender the place. When they were introduced into his prefence, they were furprised to find him armed, and without any pomp or ceremony about him. Afterwards, when his attendants brought him a cushion, he bid the eldest of them, named Acuphis, take it and sit down upon it. The old man charmed with his humanity and courtefy, asked him, What his countrymen should do to merit his friendship? I would have them, faid Alexander, chuse thee to govern them, and fend one hundred of the most considerable and most worthy men among them to remain with me as hostages. I shall govern them with more ease, replied Acuphis smiling, if I fend you so many of the worst, rather than the best of my subjects.

Taxiles's dominions in India are faid to have been as large as Egypt, and to have abounded remarkably in good pastures, and in excellent fruits. Taxiles himself was a wife man, and at his first interview

terview with Alexander, spoke to him in these terms: To what purpose, said he, should we make war upon one another, if thy design of coming into these parts be not to rob us us of our water, or our necessary food, which are the only things that wife men are indispensably obliged to fight for? As for other riches and possessions, if I am better provided of them than thou, I am ready to . let thee share with me; but if fortune has been more liberal to thee than me, I will not decline thy favours, but accept them with all the grateful acknowledgments that are due to a benefactor. This discourse pleased Alexander so much, that, embracing him, he faid, Do not think, that thy fair speeches and kind behaviour shall bring thee off in this interview without fighting. No, thou shalt not escape so; for as to benefits, I will contend with thee fo far, that how obliging foever thou art, thou shalt not have the better of me. Then receiving some prefents from him, he returned him others of greater value, and last of all presented him with a thousand talents. At this his friends were exceedingly displeased, but it gained him the hearts of many of the Barbarians.

The valiantest of the Indians now taking pay of several cities, undertook to defend them, and did it so bravely, that they put Alexander to a great deal of trouble and satigue, till having made an agreement with him, upon the surrender of a place, he fell upon them as they were marching away, and put them all to the sword. This one breach of his word was a perpetual blemish upon him, tho on all other occasions he had managed his wars with that justice and honour that became his dignity. Nor were the Indian philosophers less hurtful to him by inveighing bitterly against those princes who were of his party, and soliciting the free cities to oppose him; therefore he took several of them,

and caused them to be hanged.

Alexander in his own letters has given us the following account of his war with Porus. The two K k 2 armies

armies were separated by the river Hydaspes, on whose opposite bank Porus continually kept his elephants in order of battle, with their heads towards their enemies, to guard the passage. He every day made great noises in his camp, that the Barbarians being accustomed to it might become careless and secure. In a stormy dark night he passed over the river, considerably above the place where the enemy lay, into a little island, with part of his foot, and the best of his horse. Here there fell a violent shower of rain, accompanied with lightning and whirlwinds, and fome of his men were burnt and destroyed by the lightning; however he quitted the island, and made over to the other fide. The Hydaspes, now after the storm, was fo fwoln and grown fo rapid, as to make a breach in the bank, at which part of the river ran out; fo that when he came to land, he found the place extremely flippery, and the ground broken and hollowed by the current. In this diffress he was heard to fay, O Athenians! would you have believed that I should expose myself to such dangers, to merit your praises? But as to this last particular, it is only mentioned by Oneficritus. Alexander himfelf goes on, and tells us that here they quitted the rafts they had made use of in their passage, and passed the breach in their armour up to the breast in water: and then he advanced with his horse about twenty furlongs before his foot, concluding, that if the enemy charged him with their cavalry, he should be too strong for them; if with their foot, his own would come up time enough to his affiftance. Nor did he judge amis; for being charged by a thousand horse, and fixty armed chariots, which advanced before their main body, he took all the chariots, and killed four hundred horse upon the place. Porus gueffing by this that Alexander himfelf was come over, brought up his whole army, except a party which he left behind to prevent the rest of the Macedonians from passing the river. But Alexander searing the multitude of the enemy, and the force of their elephants, would not join battle with them in front, but dividing his forces, attacked their left wing himself, and commanded Cænus to fall upon the right. Both wings being broken retired to the elephants. Though the engagement began early in the morning, it was two hours after noon before the Barbarians were entirely deseated. This description of the battle the conquerour has left us in his own e-

pistles.

Almost all writers agree that Porus was four cubits and a palm in height, and that when he was upon his elephant, which was a very large one. his stature and bulk were such, that he appeared to be but proportionably mounted. This elephant, during the whole battle, gave many proofs of wonderful understanding and a particular care of the king, whom, as long as he was able to fight, he del fended with great courage, repelling those who attacked him; and as foon as he perceived him ready to faint by reason of his many wounds and the multitude of darts with which he was pierced, to prevent his falling off, he foftly kneeled down, and then with his proboscis gently drew every darr out of his body. When Porus was taken prisoner, and Alexander asked him, How he expected to be used? He answered, Like a King. And hast thou nothing else to demand? faid Alexander. No, replied Porus. in the word King every thing is comprehended. Accordingly Alexander dealt very generously with him; for he not only fuffered him to govern his own kingdom as his lieutenant, but added to it a large province of some free people whom he had newly fubdued, which confifted of fifteen feveral nations. and contained five thousand confiderable towns, beside abundance of villages. Another government Kk3

three times as large as this he bestowed on Philip, one of his friends.

Some time after the battle with Porus, most authors agree, that Bucephalus died of his wounds, or, as Onesicritus says, of age and fatigue, being thirty years old. Alexander was no less concerned at his death, than if he had lost an old companion, or an intimate friend, and built a city which he named Bucephalia in memory of him, on the banks of the river Hydaspes. We are told moreover, that having lost a favourite dog named Peritas, he likewise built a city in memory of him, calling it after his name. Sotio the historian tells us, that he had this particular from Potamo of Lesbos.

But this last combat with Porus abated the courage of the Macedonians, and hindered their further progress in India. For having with great difficulty defeated him, who brought but twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse into the field, they strongly opposed Alexander's design of obliging them to pass the Ganges too, being told that it was thirty two furlongs in breadth, and an hundred fathoms deep, and that the banks on the further fide were covered with prodigious numbers. of foot, horse, and elephants. For they had intelligence, that the kings of the Gandarites and Præfians expected them there with eighty thousand horse, two hundred thousand foot, eight thousand armed chariots, and fix thousand elephants. Nor. was this an improbable report; for Androcottus, who not long after reigned in those parts, made a present of five hundred elephants at once to Seleucus. and with an army of fix hundred thousand men fubdued all India. Alexander at first was so grieved and enraged at the reluctance he found in the army, that he shut himself up in his tent, declaring, that if they would not pass the Ganges, he owed them no thanks for any thing they had hitherto done, and that to retreat now was plainly to confess them-

felves vanquished. But at last, the prudent remon. strances and perfuasions of his friends, and the tears and lamentations of his foldiers, who in a fuppliant manner crouded about the entrance of his tent, prevailed with him to think of returning. Yet, before he decamped, he contrived some artifices to delude posterity into a false opinion of his greatness, by scattering about in different places arms of an extraordinary bigness, and mangers and bits for horses, above the usual fize. He erected altars also to the gods, which the kings of the Præfians even in our time highly reverence, often passing the river to facrifice upon them after the Androcottus, then a youth, Grecian manner. faw Alexander there, and often faid afterwards. that he miffed but little of making himfelf mafter of those countries; because their king, who then reigned, was hated and despised for the vitiousness of his life, and the meanness of his extraction.

Alexander decamping from hence, was defirous to see the ocean; for which purpose he caused a great many boats and rafts to be built, in which he went at leifure down the rivers. But his navigation was neither unprofitable nor unactive; for, by making feveral descents, he took the fortified towns, and made himself master of the country on both fides. But at the fiege of a city of the Mallians, who are the most valiant people of India, he was in great danger of his life; for having beaten off the defendants with showers of arrows, he was the first man who mounted the wall by a scaling-ladder, which, as foon as he was up, broke, and left him alone exposed to the darts which the Barbarians threw at him in great numbers from below. In this diffress, collecting all his force and poifing his body, he leaped down into the midst of his enemies, and had the good fortune to light upon his feet. The glittering of his armour, from this fudden and violent motion, feemed to the Barbarians like lightning

lightning or some supernatural splendour flashing about his body. This frighted them fo at first, that they ran away, and dispersed themselves; till seeing him feconded but by two of his guards, they fell upon him hand to hand, and though he defended himself very bravely, wounded him through his armour with their fwords and fpears. flood further off, drew a bow with fuch strength, that the arrow finding its way through his cuirafs, fluck in his ribs under the breaft. This stroke was fo violent, that it made him give back, and fet one knee to the ground, which as foon as he that shot him perceived, he came up to him with his drawn scimitar; but Peucestas and Limnæus interposed. who were both wounded, Limnæus mortally, but Peucestas stood his ground, while Alexander killed the Barbarian. But this did not free him from danger; for, befide many other wounds, he at last received fo violent a stroke with a club upon his neck, that he was forced to lean his body against the wall, where he flood looking upon the enemy. When he was reduced to this extremity, the Macedonians breaking in to his affiftance, took him up quite infenfible, and conveyed him to his tent; upon which it was prefently reported all over the camp that he was dead. But when they had with great difficulty and pains fawed off the shaft of the arrow. which was of wood, and fo with much ado got off his cuirafs, they then proceeded to draw out the head, which they found was three fingers broad and four long, and that it stuck fast in the bone. During the operation, he was taken with almost mortal fwoonings; but when it was out, he came to himself again. But even after the danger was past, he continued very weak, and confined himself a great while to a regular diet, attending entirely to the cure of his wound; till one day hearing the Macedonians were fo defirous to fee him, that they were ready to mutiny, he put on his robe, and chroing

when he had showed himself to them, and facrificed to the gods, without more delay he went on board again, and as he coasted along, subdued a great deal of the country on both sides, and took several considerable cities.

In this voyage he took ten of the Indian philofophers prisoners, who had been most active in perfuading Sabbas to rebel, and befide that, had done the Macedonians a great deal of mischief. These men, because they go naked, are called Gymnosophists; and are reputed to be extremely acute and concife in their answers to whatsoever is propounded to them; which he made trial of, by putting difficult questions to them, telling them at the fame time that he who answered worst should be put to death first, and the rest afterwards in order; and he appointed the eldest of them judge. The first being asked, Which he thought most numerous, the dead or the living? answered, The living, because they who are dead are not at all. Of the second he defired to know, Whether the earth or the fea produced the largest animals? He told him, The earth, for the lea was but a part of it. His question to the third was, Which was the craftiest animal? That, faid he, with which mankind is not yet acquainted. He bid the fourth tell him, Why he persuaded Sabbas to revolt? Because, faid he, I wished him to live bonourably, or die miserably. Of the fifth he asked, Which was eldest, night or day? The philosopher replied, Day was eldest by one day: but perceiving that Alexander was furprised at the reply, he added, That he ought not to wonder, if strange questions had as odd answers made Then he went on, and inquired of the next, What a man should do to be exceedingly beloved? He must be very powerful, said he, without making himfelf too much feared. The answer of the seventh to his question, How a man might be a god? was, If he could do that which was impossible for men to perform. The eighth being asked, Which was strongest, life or death ?

death? replied, Life, because it supported so many miseries. And the last being asked, How long he thought it became a man to live? faid, So long as he does not think death better than life. Then Alexander turned to him whom he had made judge, and commanded him to give fentence. All that I can determine, faid he, is, that they have every one answered worse than another. Then thou shalt die first, faid the king, because thou judgest so ill. Not if you keep your word, re-plied the gymnosophist, which was, that he should die first who answered worst. In conclusion he gave them prefents, and difmiffed them. But to those who were in greatest reputation among them, and lived a private retired life, he fent Oneficritus, a disciple of Diogenes the Cynic, desiring them to come to him. Calanus very arrogantly and rudely commanded him to firit himfelf, and hear what he faid, naked, otherwise he would not speak a word to him, though he came from Jupiter himself. But Dandamis received him with more civility, and hearing him discourse of Socrates, Pythagoras, and Diogenes, told him, he thought that they were men of great parts, but that they paid too much respect to the laws. Others say, he only asked him the reason, why Alexander undertook fo long a voyage to come into those parts? Taxiles perfuaded Calanus to visit Alexander; his proper name was Sphines, but because he used to say Cale, which in the Indian tongue is the common form of falutation, the Grecians called him Calanus. He is faid to have shown Alexander an instructive emblem of government, which was this: he threw a dry shrivelled hide upon the ground, and trod upon the edge of it; the skin, when it was pressed in one place, still rose up in another, wheresoever he trod round about it, till he fet his foot in the middle. which made all the parts lie flat and even. The meaning of this was, that Alexander ought to refide most in the middle of his empire, and not undertake fuch remote voyages. His

His voyage down the rivers took up feven months time: and when he came to the fea, he failed to an island which he called Scillustis, others Psitucis, where going ashore, he facrificed, and made what observations he could on the nature of the sea and the coast. Then having befought the gods, that no other man might ever go beyond the bounds of this expedition, he ordered his fleet, of which he made Nearchus admiral, and Oneficritus pilot, to fail round about, leaving India on the right hand, and returned himself by land through the country of the Orites, where he was extremely diffressed for want of provisions, and lost a great number of men, so that of an army of a hundred and twenty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse, he scarce brought back above a fourth part out of India, they were fo diminished by diseases, ill diet, and the scorching heats, but mostly by famine. For their march was through an uncultivated country, whose inhabitants fared hardly, and had nothing to fubfift on but a few forry sheep, whose flesh was rank and unfavoury, by reason of their continual feeding upon fea-fish.

After fix days painful march he came into Gedrosia, where he found great plenty of all things, which the neighbouring kings and governours of provinces, hearing of his approach, had taken care to provide. From hence, when he had refreshed his army, he continued his march through Carmania, feafting all the way for feven days together. He with his most intimate friends banquetted and revelled night and day, upon a stage erected on a lofty, conspicuous scaffold, which, with a flow majestic pace, was drawn by eight horses. This machine was accompanied by a great many chariots, whereof fome were covered with tapestry of purple and other colours, and fome with green boughs, which had their place supplied with fresh ones whenever they withered. In these were carried the

rest of his friends and commanders, drinking and crowned with chaplets. In all this train there was no target, helmet, or spear to be seen; but the road was covered with foldiers, continually dipping their cups in large veffels of wine, and drinking to one another, some as they marched along, and others feated at tables, which were placed for them at proper distances in their passage. The whole country refounded with music and singing, and with the wild riotous frolics of the women who followed the army. This diforderly and diffolute march was closed by a very immodest figure borne in pomp, and a most licentious representation of all the obfcenity of the Bacchanals, as if Bacchus himfelf had been prefent to countenance and carry on the debauch. As foon as he came to the royal palace of Gedrosia, he again refreshed and feasted his army; and it is faid, that one day, after he had drank hard, he went out to fee an entertainment of dancing, wherein his paramour Bagoas (who de-frayed the expense of one of the choruses) obtained the victory, at which he was fo elated that he croffed the stage in his festival habit, and sat down close by the king. This fo pleased the Macedonians, that they with loud acclamations called upon him to kifs Bagoas, and never left clapping their hands and shouting, till Alexander took him about the neck and kiffed him.

Here his admiral Nearchus came to him, and delighted him so much with the relation of his voyage, that he resolved himself to fail out of the mouth of Euphrates with a great fleet, with which he designed to go round by Arabia and Libya, and so by Hercules's pillars into the Mediterranean; in order to which he directed all sorts of vessels to be built at Thapsacus, and collected seamen and pilots from all quarters. But it fell out unlucklily for this enterprise, that the report of the difficulties he went through in his Indian expedition, the danger of his person

person among the Mallians, the loss of a considerable part of his forces, and the general opinion that he would hardly return in fafety, occasioned the revolt of many conquered nations, and tempted the commanders and lieutenants in feveral provinces to oppress the people with extreme injustice, avarice, and infolence. In a word, there feemed to to be throughout his whole empire an univerfal fluctuation and disposition to change: insomuch that Olympias and Cleopatra had raifed a faction against Antipater, and shared his government between them, Olympias seizing upon Epirus, and Cleopatra upon Macedonia. When Alexander was told of it, he faid, His mother had made the best choice, for the Macedonians would never endure to be ruled by a woman. Upon this he dispatched Nearchus again to his fleet, intending to carry the war into all the maritime provinces. In the mean time, in his march through the inland countries, he punished those commanders who had not behaved well, particularly Oxyartes, one of Abulites's fons, whom he killed with his own hand, thrufting him through the body with his fpear. And when Abulites, in-Read of the necessary provisions which he ought to have furnished, brought him three thousand talents in money, he ordered it to be thrown to his horses. who not meddling with it, he faid, What good does this provision do me? and fent him away to prison.

Upon his return into Persia, he distributed money among all the women of the country, according to a custom which had been always observed by their kings, who were obliged upon their progress to give every woman a piece of gold; for which reason some of them came but seldom, and Ochus was fo fordidly covetous, that he never vifited Perfia, though it was his native country, but chose rather to live a voluntary exile, than bear the ex-

penfe.

Finding Cyrus's sepulchre opened and rifled, he

put Polymachus who was guilty of it to death. though he was a man of quality, and born at Pella in Macedonia: and after he had read the infcription. he caused it to be cut again below the old one in Greek characters. The words were these: O man. whofoever thou art, and whence foever thou comest, (for come I know thou wilt), I am Cyrus, the founder of the Perfian empire; do not envy me this little quantity of earth which covers my body. The reading of this fensibly touched Alexander, caufing him to reflect feriously upon the uncertainty and mutability of human affairs. At the fame time Calanus having been a little while troubled with a loofeness, requested he might have a funeral pile erected, to which he came on horseback, and after he had faid fome prayers, and had poured a libation upon himself, and cut off some of his hair to throw into the fire, he ascended it, embracing and taking leave of the Macedonians who stood by, and defiring them to pass that day in mirth and drinking with their king, whom in a little time, he faid, he should see again at Babylon. Having faid this, he lay down, and covered himfelf up; he did not move when the fire came near him, but continued still in the same posture as at first; and thus he facrificed himself according to the ancient custom of the philosophers of his country. The fame thing was done long after by another Indian, who came with Cæfar to Athens, where they still show the Indian's monument. Alexander, at his return from the funeral pile, invited a great many of his friends and principal officers to supper, and proposed a drinking-match, in which the victor should be crowned. Promachus drank fourteen quarts of wine, and won the prize, which was worth a talent; but he furvived his victory only three days, and was followed, as Chares fays, by forty-one more, who died of the same debauch, by reason of the severe frost which happened at that time.

At

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At Sufa he married Darius's daughter Statira, and celebrated the nuptials of his friends, bestowing the noblest of the Persian ladies upon the worthiest of them. He also made a very splendid entertainment for all the Macedonians who were married before; at which it is reported, there were no lefs than nine thousand guests, to each of whom he gave a golden cup for them to use in their libations. Not to mention other instances of his wonderful magnificence, he paid the debts of his whole army, which amounted to nine thousand eight hundred and feventy talents. Antigenes, (who was diftinguished by the name of One eyed), though he owed nothing, got his name fet down in the lift of those who were in debt, and bringing one who pretended to be his creditor, received the money. But when the cheat was found out, the king was fo incenfed at it, that he banished him from court, and took away his command, though he was an excellent foldier, and a man of great courage. For when he was but a youth, and ferved under Philip at the fiege of Perinthus, where he was wounded in the eye by an arrow shot out of an engine, he would neither let the arrow be taken out, nor be perfuaded to quit the field, till he had bravely repulsed the enemy, and forced them to retire into the town. A man of his spirit was not able to support such a difgrace with any patience, and his grief and despair would certainly have killed him; but the king fearing the confequence, not only pardoned him, but let him also enjoy the benefit of his deceit.

The thirty thousand boys whom he left behind him to be instructed in military discipline, were now full grown, and were so beautiful in their perfons, and performed their exercises with such dexterity and agility, that he was extremely pleased; but the Macedonians were disheartened, fearing the king would now have less esteem for them. And when he was sending home the infirm and

maimed foldiers, they faid they were unjustly and dishonourably dealt with; and complained, that, after he had worn them out in his fervice, he was now turning them off with difgrace, and fending them back to their own country among their friends and relations, in a worfe condition than he found them in when he brought them from thence, Therefore they defired him to discharge them all, and to account his Macedonians ufelefs, now he was fo well furnished with these dancing boys, with whom if he pleafed he might go on, and conquer the whole world. These speeches so enraged Alexander, that after he had feverely reprimanded them, he removed them from his person, and chose his lifeguard and the other inferiour officers who attended him from among the Persians. When the Macedonians faw him attended by these men, and themselves excluded and disgraced, they were exceedingly mortified; and upon discourse with one another they found that jealoufy and rage had almost distracted them. But at last coming to themselves again, they went unarmed with nothing on them but their tunics, and with tears and lamentations presented themselves at his tent, desiring him to deal with them as their baseness and ingratitude deserved. However this would not prevail: for though his anger was already fomething mollified, yet he would not admit them into his prefence, nor would they ftir from thence, but continued two days and nights before his tent, bewailing their misfortune, and calling upon him as their prince and fovereign. The third day he came out to them, and feeing them very humble and penitent, he wept a great while, and after a gentle reproof spoke kindly to them, and dismissed those who were unferviceable, with magnificent rewards, and this recommendation to Antipater; that when they came into Greece, at all public shows, and inthe theatres, they should fit in the most honourable

seats, crowned with chaplets of flowers; and he ordered the children of those who had lost their lives in his service, to have their fathers pay conti-

nued to them.

When he came to Ecbatana in Media, and had dispatched his most urgent affairs, he diverted himfelf again with spectacles, and public entertainments, to carry on which, he had a fupply of three. thousand performers newly arrived out of Greece. But they were foon interrupted by Hephæstion's falling fick of a fever, in which, being a young man, and a foldier too, he could not confine himfelf to so exact a diet as was necessary; for whilst his physician Glaucus was gone to the theatre, he ate a boiled capon for dinner, and drank a large: draught of wine cooled with ice, upon which he grew worse, and died in a few days. At this misfortune Alexander was fo extravagantly tranf. ported, that to express his forrow he immediately ordered the manes and tails of all his horses and mules to be cut, and threw down the battlements of the neighbouring cities. He crucified the poor physician, and forbade the use of the flute, or any other mufical instrument in the camp for a great while, till the oracle of Jupiter Ammon injoined him to honour Hephæstion, and facrifice to him as to a hero. Then feeking to alleviate his grief in war, he fet out as if he were going to hunt men; for he fell upon the Cussaans, and put the whole nation to the fword, not sparing so much as the children. This was called a facrifice to Hephæstion's ghost. He intended to bestow ten thousand talents in celebrating his funeral, and erecting a monument to him; and that the excellence and beauty of the workmanship might surpass even the expense itself, he rather chose to employ Stasicrates than any other artist, because he always expressed something very bold, lofty, and magnificent in his defigns. This was the man, who in a former discourse had L13

told him, that of all the mountains he knew, that of Athos in Thrace was the most capable of being contrived to represent the shape and lineaments of a man; that if he pleased to command him, he would make it the noblest and most durable statue in the world, and that in its left hand it should hold a city of ten thousand inhabitants, and out of its right should pour a copious river into the sea. Though Alexander declined this project, yet now he spent a great deal of time with workmen, to invent and contrive others far more absurd and ex-

penfive.

As he was upon his way to Babylon, Nearchus, who had failed back out of the ocean by the mouth of the river Euphrates, came to tell him, he had met with some Chaldwan diviners, who warned him not to go thither. But Alexander flighted this advice, and went on; and when he came near the walls of the city, he faw a great many crows fighting with one another, some of which fell down just by him. After this, being informed that Apollodorus the governour of Babylon had facrificed in order to know what would be his fate, he fent for Pythagoras the foothfayer; who not denying the thing, he asked him, in what condition he found the victim? and when he told him, the liver was defective in that lobe called the head, he faid, A terrible prefage, indeed ! However he offered Pythagoras no injury; but he was much troubled that he had neglected Nearchus's advice, and therefore remained in his camp a great while without the town, and diverted himfelf with failing up and down the Euphrates. For, befide this, he was terrified by many other prodigies. A tame as fell upon the largest and handsomest lion that was kept there, and kicked him to death. One day he undreffed himself to be anointed, and to play at tennis; and when he had done, and was putting his cloaths on again, the young men who had played with him, perceived

perceived a man clad in the king's robes, with a diadem upon his head, fitting filently upon his throne. They asked him, Who he was? To which he gave no answer a good while, till at last with much ado, coming to himself, he told them, His name was Dionysius; that he was of Messenia; that for some crime of which he was accused, he had been forced to fly his country, and had made his escape by sea, and got from thence to Babylon, where he had been kept in chains for a long time; that Serapis had just before appeared to him, had freed him from his chains, conducted him to that place, and commanded him to put on the king's robe and diadem, and to sit where they found him, and to say nothing. Alexander when he heard this, by the direction of his foothfayers, put the poor wretch to death; but from that time he began to despond, and grew diffident of the protection of the gods, and very fuspicious of his friends. His greatest apprehension was of Antipater and his sons, one of whom, named Follas, was his chief cupbearer; the other, named Cassander, was newly arrived out of Greece, and being bred up in the freedom of his country, the first time he saw the Barbarians adore the king, he was furprised at the novelty of the thing, and could not forbear laughing aloud at it; which so incensed Alexander, that he took him by the hair with both his hands, and violently beat his head against the wall. Another time, Cassander would have faid fomething in defence of Antipater. to those who accused him; but Alexander interrupting him, cried out, What is it you fay? Do you think people, if they have received no injury, would come such a journey only to calumniate your father? To which Caffander replied, that this very thing was a great evidence of their calumny, for the further they were come, the further they were from those proofs that could confute them. Alexander smiled at this, and faid, Those are some of Aristotle's sophisms, which will serve equally on both fides; but, added he, both you and your fathers

shall be severely punished if it appears that the complainants have received the least injustice at your hands. This menace made such a deep impression on Cassander's mind, that long after, when he was king of Macedonia, and master of all Greece, as he was walking one day at Delphi, and looking on the statues, at the sight of that of Alexander he was studdenly seized with such a trembling and dizzines, that he with great difficulty recovered himself.

When once Alexander began to give way to fuperfition, his mind grew fo reftless and timorous, that he looked upon every event, however trifling, if in the least unufual or extraordinary, to be a prodigy and a prefage; and his court fwarmed with diviners and priefts, who were perpetually offering facrifices, making purifications, and uttering prophecies. So horrid a thing is incredulity, and contempt of the gods on one hand; and no less horrid is superstition on the other, which, like water, whose property is always to flow downwards, affects only those whose minds are funk and depressed, filling them with abfurd imaginations and extravagant terrours, as it did now Alexander himfelf. But upon some answers which were brought him from the oracle concerning Hephæstion, he laid afide his forrow, and fell again to facrificing and drinking. Having given Nearchus a splendid entertainment, after he had bathed, as was his cuftom, and was just going to bed, at Medius's request he went to supper with him. Here he drank all that night and the next day to fuch excess, that it threw him into a fever, which seized him, not, as some write, after he had drank off Hercules's bowl; nor was he taken with a fudden pain in his back, as if he had been struck with a lance: for these are the inventions of fome authors, who thought that fo noble a drama ought to have a pathetic and tragical catastrophe. Aristobulus tells us, that

in the rage of his fever, and the violence of his thirst, he took a draught of wine, upon which he fell into a frenzy, and died the thirtieth of the month Dæsius, [June]. But in his own journals we have the following account of his fickness: The eighteenth of the month Dæssus, finding himself feverish, he lay in his bathing-room. On the morrow, when he had bathed, he returned into his chamber, and fpent the day at dice with Medius. In the evening, having bathed and facrificed, he supped, and had his fever that night. The twentieth, after the usual sacrifices and bathing, he kept his bed in the same room, and heard Nearchus's relation of his voyage, and the observations he had made concerning the ocean. The twenty-first he passed in the same manner, his fever still increasing, and he had a very bad night. The next day he had a severe fit, and caused himself to be removed, and his bed to be set by the great bath, where he discoursed with his principal officers about filling up the vacant charges in the army with men of tried valour and experience. The twenty-fourth, being much worse, he was carried out to affift at the saerifices, and gave order that his chief commanders should wait within the court, whilft the other officers kept watch without doors. The twenty-fifth, he was removed to his palace on the other side the river, where he slept a little; but his fever did not abate, and when the commanders came into his chamber, he was speechless, and continued so the following day. Then the Macedonians supposing he was dead, came with great clamour to the gates, and menaced his friends fo, that they were forced to admit them, and let them all pass unarmed by his bedside. The twenty-feventh, Pytho and Seleucus being fent to Serapis's temple, to inquire if they should bring Alexander thither, were answered by the god, that they should not remove him. The twenty-eighth in the evening be died. This account is most of it word for word taken from his own diary.

At that time no body had any fuspicion of his being poisoned; but upon a discovery made fix

years after, they fay, Olympias put many to death, and threw abroad the ashes of Jollas, who was then dead, as if he had given it him. But those who affirm that Aristotle perfuaded Antipater to do it. and that it was wholly by his means that the poison was brought, produce one Agnothemis for their author, who pretends that he had heard King Antigonus speak of it, and tells us that the poison was a water of a deadly quality cold as ice, diftilling from a rock in the territory of Nonacris, which they gathered like a thin dew, and kept in an afs's boof; for it was fo very cold and penetrating, that no other vessel would hold it. However, most are of opinion that all this is false; a strong evidence of which is, that during the diffensions among the commanders, which lasted a great many days after his death, the body continued clear and fresh, without any fign of such taint or corruption, though it lay neglected in a hot fultry place.

Roxana, who was now with child, and upon that account much honoured by the Macedonians, being jealous of Statira, fent for her by a counterfeit letter, as if Alexander had been still alive; and when she had her in her power, killed her and her fifter, and threw their bodies into a well, which they filled up with earth, not without the privity and affistance of Perdiccas, who at this time, under the shelter of Aridæus, whom he carried about with him for his own fecurity, bore the greatest fway of any. Aridæus himfelf, who was Philip's fon, by one Philinna, an obscure common strumpet, was a man of weak parts, by reason of a bodily indisposition, which neither was born with him nor came of itself; for in his childhood he was lively and of a promising disposition; but some potions that Olympias gave him, not only impaired his health, but weakened his understand-

FINIS.